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Culture—Contacts in South India*

By

T. K. Venkataraman, M.A., L.T.,
Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras

Culture is a term whose connotation is so expansive that it may express all the different sides of human activity. Considering its vast scope, it is not possible to do more than touch upon a few aspects of this entrancing subject. One can only emphasize the wonderful synthesis of different cultures which have contributed to enrich our common heritage of culture. It is possible to hold different opinions on many of the matters which are dealt with here, and none can claim that the last word had been said with regard to these matters. But, this much can safely be said: We are entitled to disregard theories based not on historical standards but on political or social propaganda. In the same way, interpretations of facts to suit preconceived ideas or in accordance with a particular bias cannot claim to be accepted at their face value.

All land south of the Narmadā is compendiously described as Dakṣināpatha from which term is derived the word 'Deccān'. In a narrower sense, Deccān includes only the Mahārāṣṭra and Āndhra areas of Modern India. But, these areas were so closely connected with Mysore and other regions of the south that it is often difficult to separate the history of these different areas. The Deccān plateau is roughly triangular, enclosed as it is by the Eastern and Western Ghats. As the plateau sloped from the west to the east, the chief rivers of the region like the Mahānadi, the Gōdāvarī, the Kriṣṇā and the Kāverī have flowed eastwards and formed rich deltas on the east coast. To the west of the Western Ghats is the narrow plain of Konkan and Kerala. The eastern coastal area beyond the Eastern Ghats from the Mahānadi to Cape Comorin is broader. The northern part of it forms the

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* Sankara-Parvati Endowment Lectures delivered at the Madras University, 1945. Published with the kind permission of the Madras University.

Northern Circars and the southern area, the Coromandel. This geographical configuration has served in a sense to separate the region from North India. The Vindhyas and the extensive forests adjoining became a barrier which was difficult to cross in the past. There had been, indeed, expeditions by ambitious rulers from the north to the south and *vice versa;* but, these never led to enduring domination. Even the Mauryan and Mughal Empires never included the extreme south. Political unity of the north and the south was never fully realised till the period of British rule. Broadly speaking, South India has been relatively free from the political troubles which convulsed the north from time to time owing to incursions from outside India.

Still, contacts have existed between these two parts of India from the remote past. As Nilakanta Sastri observes "From the prehistorical times to the present-day, there has been no period when the two regions did not influence each other politically and culturally".[1] A fundamental unity of culture developed which transcended differences of race, language, religion and environment. This broad cultural unity was the product of a successful synthesis of different ways of life and systems of thought of the various groups of people inhabiting the Indian subcontinent and led to a common outlook on life.

The two chief cultural influences that have operated in South India before modern times are: Āryan and Drāviḍian. The others like the Jewish, the Christian and the Muslim are not so important. So, our primary attention has to be devoted to the two influences mentioned above. The terms 'Āryan' and 'Drāviḍian' are unfortunate. Max Müller popularised the theory that all people who spoke the various Indo-Germanic languages had a common origin and that there was an ancient Āryan race from which these were descended. This theory may be said to have really originated at the close of the eighteenth century when Sir William Jones who was a judge of the Supreme Court in Bengal commented on the remarkable similarity between Samskṛit, the Classical languages of Greek and Latin, the Teutonic languages like German and the Keltic languages. In 1808, Schlegel put forward the theory that there was an ancestral race which spoke a language from which all these were descended. Max Müller elaborated the theory and, for the first time, used the word 'Āryan' to designate these languages. He pictured also an Āryan ancestral race which originated on the Central Asian plateau. Later on, Max Müller recanted his views and admitted that identity of language does not mean identity of race. He said frankly:[2] "Āryans are those who speak Āryan languages, whatever their colour, whatever their blood. In calling them Āryās, we predicate nothing of them except that the grammar of their language is Āryan . . . . To me, an ethnologist who speaks of an Āryan race, Āryan blood, Āryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar".

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[1] *A History of South India,* (2nd ed., p. 34).

In spite of this, this error has perpetuated itself. Haddon[3] remarked "The Āryan type . . . . is marked by a relatively long (dolichocephalic) head, a straight, finely cut (leptorrhine) nose, a long, symmetrically narrow face, well-developed regular features and a high facial angle. The stature is fairly high . . . . and the general build of the figure well-proportioned and slender rather than massive". Caldwell called all the languages of South India Drāviḍian and assumed that the people who spoke them belonged to a Drāviḍian race. Risley[4] wrote that the Drāviḍian head usually inclines to be dolichocephalic, but "all other characters present a marked contrast to the Āryan. The nose is thick and broad . . . The facial angle is comparatively low; the lips are thick; the face wide and fleshy; the features coarse and irregular . . . The figure is squat and the limbs sturdy. The colour of the skin varies from very dark brown to a shade closely approaching black." On this slender basis, Risley erected his ethnographical classification of the people of India into seven types.[5]

It is now admitted, thanks to the labours of anthropologists like Von Eickstedt that the terms 'Āryan' and 'Drāviḍian' are only linguistic terms, and that the people who speak them need not be of the same race. Language is no test of race. The evidence of nasal and cephalic indices is not absolute. In almost every nation, we find almost every cephalic index. Both brachycephalic and dolichocephalic types have been found amongst peoples of Āryan speech. The Armenians who are dominantly of the first type and the Kurds who are dominantly of the latter type both speak Aryan languages. The human skeletal relics found in the area of the Indus Valley Culture include those of Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongoloid and Alpine stocks, though the dominant types are the first two. Fleure and Peake have observed traces of the skulls of Āryan affinities amongst the early Sumerians. The census report of 1931, edited by the highly qualified anthropologists—Hutton and Guha—gives a more modern classification of the people of India. It was natural that South India from the Vindhyas to Cape Comorin, being the oldest part of India, shows traces of the oldest inhabitants. Drāviḍian-speakers were not the only Pre-Āryan people of India. They mixed with the older people in varying proportions and assimilated some of their customs. Those who spoke the Drāviḍian languages appear to have originally belonged to the Mediterranean stock and appear, after their coming to India, to have mixed with a Proto-Australoid stock already present in India, and in some places with a later irruption of an Armenoid stock. The speakers of the Āryan languages appear to have belonged originally to the Alpine and Proto-Nordic stocks. According to this classification, it would appear that the Drāviḍian-speakers, as well as the Āryan-speakers, originally belonged to a Caucasian stock clearly distinguished from the Mongoloid or Negrito stocks. If so, the difference between them is not one of race, but of culture, because, by reason of residence in different environments and mixture with other stocks, the Drāviḍian-speakers and the Āryan-speakers became long ago differentiated in colour, cult and customs. In this sense only, we can accept the traditional terms 'Drāviḍian' and 'Āryan'.

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[2] *Biographies of Words and the Home of the Āryās*, pp. 120 and 245.
[3] *Study of Man*, p. 103.
[4] *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, xxxii-xxxiii.
[5] Appendix to Risley's *Report on the Census of India*, 1901.

The Indus Valley culture which really extended as far as the upper valley of the Gangā on the east and Kathiawār to the west is held by many scholars to have been developed by the Drāviḍian-speakers.[6] Though the question whether the Āryan-speakers came into contact with this culture or whether it disappeared before their advent is still debated, many hold with justification that the references in the *Vedas* to the Dasyus apply to these people, and it is reasonably clear that several features of later Hinduism have to be traced to elements of the Indus Valley culture which were absorbed by the Āryan-speakers. While a large number of the Drāviḍian-speakers retreated to South India, a good proportion remained in the north and became mixed up with the Āryan-speakers in course of time. Thus, whatever the original position might have been, mixture of stocks began very early. The coming of the Āryans did not mean the extermination of the pre-existing people even in North India—much less in South India where the stream of Āryan colonisation was very small and was in the nature of peaceful penetration. Within a century and a half of British rule, a mixed Anglo-Indian stock has come into being. How much more thorough should have been the mixture between the Drāviḍian and the Āryan elements in the whole of India, considering the long centuries of contact? So it is extremely rash to postulate that a separate Āryan or Drāviḍian race continues in India even now.

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[6] It is not within our scope to discuss the racial character of the people of the Proto-Indian Culture. It is probable that they belonged to a Mediterranean stock essentially akin to that of the Drāviḍian-speakers.

When we turn to culture, the opinion expressed that the Āryans entered a land inhabited by uncivilised savages is quite wrong. The view of Dr. A. C. Das[7] that the Āryans alone were highly civilised and, but for them, the Drāviḍians would be sunk in ignorance and barbarism is untenable. In the same way. Dr. Vincent Smith's statement[8] that 'the Tamils had developed an advanced civilisation of their own, wholly independent of North India' is also to be discounted. Ramachandra Dikshitar expresses the true view of the position in the following words:[9] "Like the Gānges and the Jumnā, these two streams of ancient culture, though separate in their origin and separate in the early part of their course, become afterwards united into a single river containing the essential elements and the salient features of both". Tagore expresses the same idea in a different way: "The transcendental thought of the Āryans by its marriage with the emotional and creative art of the Drāviḍian gave birth to an offspring which was neither fully Āryan nor Drāviḍian, but Hindu".[10] Some scholars suggest that even the so-called original Āryan culture was really that of the Rig Vedic Āryans, and that there were other Āryan tribes like the Vrātyas and the Vriṣalas who had their own cultures and that all these became mixed up later.[11] It must also be emphasised that the belt of hills and forests (Mahākāntara) in the region of the Vindhyās and the Sātpurās, though formidable, never blocked up contact between the north and the south.[12] Āryan colonists began to enter South India perhaps from 1000 B.C. and this led to further mixture of races. The word 'Dakṣināpatha' occurs in a late hymn of the *Rig Veda*. By the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Sūtras,* this colonisation increased. It was essentially a peaceful penetration by periodical immigration of small groups. Vidarbha (Berar) seems to have been first colonised. Pāṇini[13] who may be assigned to about 600 B.C. mentions only Kaliṅga and knows nothing of South India. But, Kātyāyana, a grammarian of the 4th century B.C., who perhaps belonged to South India, refers to the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷas and Keraḷa. So, we may assume that, by now, Āryan colonisation had extended to all parts of the south. In parts of the Deccan like Mahārāṣṭra, Āryan influence dominated over the language of the area. But, in other areas, there was no extermination of the old languages, though Āryan speech greatly influenced them. The culture of the races also blended so that it is now impossible to pick out and differentiate the peculiar elements of the two cultures with complete certainty.

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[7] *Ṛig-Vedic Studies.*

[8] *Early History of India,* p. 457.

[9] *Studies in Tamil History,* p. 226.

[10] His article 'A Vision of India' in the *Viśva Bhārati Quarterly,* No. 1.

Later legends form, perhaps, a faint reminiscence of the adventures of early Āryan pioneers. Agastya is supposed to have stopped the Vindhyas from growing (indicating his successful crossing) and to have settled down in Podiyil, the southernmost range of the Western Ghats. He is regarded by Tamil̲ tradition as having put into shape the Tamil̲ language by writing a grammar. The Iṛayanār Ahapporuḷ Urai (a work of the 8th or 9th century A.D.) refers to this Agattiyam as the first grammar. This grammar is now lost except for a few quotations from it in the grammar of Tolkāppiyar who is said to have been a Brāhmaṇa disciple of Agastya. Agastya is also supposed to have written a work on medicine. The legend of Agastya drinking up the sea to help the Devas to attack the Asuras who had taken refuge in the sea is due to a dim memory of oversea colonisation which has carried the cult of Agastya abroad. It is debated whether Agastya was a real person or legendary. The legend of Paraśurāma who is said to have created the land of Keraḷa from the sea may also be nothing more than an echo of Āryan colonisation of Keraḷa. Āpastamba, author of *Śrauta, Grihya* and *Dharma Sūtras,* is held by many to have belonged to South India and lived in the Gōdāvarī valley about 300 B.C. Some think that Baudhāyana, compiler of *Sūtras,* also belonged to South India. But, even now, the memory of early contacts is shrouded in legends. The *Mahābhārata* mentions that Sahādēva reached the Pāṇḍyan territory during the southern expedition before the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. It also says that Arjuna married Citrāṅgada, daughter of a Pāṇḍyan king. D. R. Bhandarkar derives the Pāṇḍyas[14] from the northern tribe of the Pāndavas and believes that Madurai was named by them after Mathura of the north. The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions the southern expedition of Rāma and incidentally refers to the wealth of Madurai. Bhandarkar suggests[15] that the Vānaras were an indigenous people who had the device of the ape on their flags, and that Āryan contact began with them long before the invasion of Rāma. It must be admitted that all these theories are unproven. To the same class of myths we must assign the story that the Cera Udiyan Ceralātan fed the hosts of the contending armies in the Mahābhārata war. According to Tamiḻ tradition, Karikāla Cōḻa is said to have invaded North India and carved his bow emblem on the Himālayas.[16] It is said that kings of North India like those of Vajra, Magadha and Avanti offered tribute to him. It is also said that the Cera king, Neḍuñjēralātan, extended his power up to the Himālayās and was hence given the title of 'Imayavaramban'. We hear also that his son, Seṅguṭṭuvan, marched to the Himālayās to get a stone from it[17] for carving an image of Pattinī Devi. He was helped by a group called the Nūṛṛuvar Kaṇṇar with boats to cross the Gāṅga. He defeated two northern princes called Kanaka and Vijaya. Karikāla must have lived, at the most, half a century before Seṅguṭṭuvan.[18] Even if we dismiss the identification of Nūṛṛuvar Kaṇṇar with the Āndhra King Śātakarṇi proposed by Kanakasabhai[19], the synchronism of Seṅguṭṭuvan with Gajabāhu the First of Ceylon fixes the second half of the second century A.D. for his reign. These Tamil traditions, if accepted as true, would date these expeditions to the early centuries of the Christian era. But there is grave doubt amongst scholars whether these traditions are not mythical. Whether the empire of Magadha set up by the Nandas included South India is debated. Khāravela of Kaliṅga who may be assigned to about 150 B.C. refers to Kaliṅga as having been ruled in the past by a Nanda king. Certain inscriptions found in the Mysore area datable to the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. refer to the rule of the Nandas in that area. Kauṭilya refers to articles which came from South India including precious stones, gold and pearls and he mentions also cotton fabrics from Madurai. Punch-marked Purāṇa coins found all over North and South India indicate extensive trade contacts. The Āndhras must have been non-Āryan speakers who were slowly Āryanised. In the *Aitaraya Brāhmaṇa*, (which dates before 500 B.C.) they are classed outside the Āryan-speakers.

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[11] See Dr. Bhandarkar's *Some aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* and Prof. N. N. Ghosh's *Indo-Āryan Literature and Culture—Origins.* According to Dr. Bhandarkar, the term 'Dāsa' meant all (native or foreign) who followed a Non-Āryan culture.

[12] Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Deccan*) thinks that the Āryans advanced from their settlements north of the Vindhyas and Kaliṅga to Vidarbha (Berār), approaching by the eastern route. Then, they crossed the Vindhyas and penetrated the Daṇḍakāraṇya along the banks of the Gōdāvarī.

[13] Goldstücker assigned Pāṇini to the 7th century A.D. Bhandarkar (*Systems of Samskrit Grammar*) accepted this. Macdonell assigns him to 500 B.C. Max Müller and Keith favour the 4th century. The early date seems to be preferable.

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[14] R. C. Majumdar (*Ancient India,* p. 142) supports this view Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that the tribe went also to Ceylon and called it Tāmrapaṇṇi after the region of the river they left. The origin of the term 'Cōḻa' is obscure. Attempts have been made to derive it from Cōḷam (Millet), Kōlar (the Kōls), sūḻ (to hover) or Cōrar (thief).

[15] *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture,* Lecture 5.

[16] *Silappadhikāram,* Canto V 11, 89-110.

Most scholars accept the traditions recorded by Māmūlanār[20] about the invasion of the Mauryas which is said to have progressed up to the Podiyamalai in Tirunelveli District. The tradition that, in the reign of Candragupta Maurya, a large number of Jainas came down south may very well mark the coming of the influence of Jainism from the north.[21] We are on more certain ground when we come to the third century B.C. when Aśōka, whose empire extended up to Mysore, mentions in his 13th Rock Edict his contact with the Cōḻa, the Pāṇḍya and the Cera kingdoms. He includes also the Āndhras and a number of other tribes of the Deccan within his empire.[22] Buddhism was introduced by missionaries from his time. By the Saṅgam Period, Brāhmanism, Buddhism and Jainism occupied a distinct place in the life of the South Indian community.

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[17] *Silappadhikāram*, Canto XXVI. Kanakasabhai misread Imayavaramban as Imayavarman.

[18] Nilakanta Sastri—*Studies in Cōḻa History and Administration*, p. 37 and pp. 49-50.

[19] *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 7.

[20] *Ahanānuṛu*, 251, 281. The curious reference of Megasthenes to Pandaia who was appointed by her father, Heracles, to rule the south may have been an echo of the tradition of Mummulai Taṭātakai who ruled Madurai.

From now, contact increased through intercourse of peace or effects of war. Patañjali in the second century B.C. mentions even places like Kāñcī. Khāravela who was ruling Kaliṅga when the Early Sātavāhanas were ruling the Āndhra land, claims to have defeated a league of Tamiḻ princes and to have received many costly presents from a Pāṇḍyan king.[23]

Passing over Śamudragupta's invasion of the eastern side of the Deccan in the fourth century A.D.,[24] we may note that the

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[21] The Jaina account of Candragupta spending his last days as a Jaina ascetic at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in Mysore is accepted by some scholars.

[22] The second and fourteenth rock edicts of Aśōka make it clear that the kingdoms of the Cōḻas and the Pāṇḍyas were outside his empire. The reference by Aśōka to Keraḷaputra is obviously to the Keraḷa area ruled by the Ceras. But, his reference to Satyaputra is not clear. Some scholars identify this with the Koṅgu land, comprising the Salem and Coimbatore areas, which, according to Saṅgam literature, were inhabited by a people called the Kōsar. Aśōka's empire certainly included Kaliṅga, the areas peopled by the Āndhras and the Mahārāṣṭra region. But, Aśōka sent missionaries to regions outside his empire also. Evidence is clear that the old Tamiḻ kingdoms had a remote past, though we have no knowledge of their history till we come to the first century A.D. Aśōkan edicts in Prākrit as far south as Kurnūl and Mysore show that Prākrit was well understood here by the fourth century B.C. Nilakanta Sastri (*History of South India*) even holds that the Aśōkan empire included a part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Prākrit was the language of the inscriptions till the 4th century A.D. Then, followed the use of Samskṛit and later came bilingual inscriptions. It is only after the 10th century that we have inscriptions in local languages.

[23] We do not know what happened to the dynasty of Khāravela. About 500 A.D., North Kaliṅga was occupied by the Gaṅgas and the South became part of the territories ruled over by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, who rose to power in the Guntūr area by the beginning of the 5th century A.D.

[24] Between the Kadambas who rose to power by the middle of the 4th century A.D. in the west and the Pallavas who set themselves up by the 4th century on the east were the Gaṅgas in the southern part of Mysore

Vākāṭakas formed the channel through which the art and culture of North India was transmitted through the early Pallavas, early Kadambas and early Gaṅgas who were all the contemporaries of the Guptas. In the seventh century, the Pallava power which extended from the Lower Kṛiṣṇā to the Kāverī saw the introduction of more northern ideas and customs and their blend with southern ideas and customs. The Kadambas who set up their power in the middle of the 4th century A.D. consisted of Brāhmaṇa rulers who performed *Vedic* sacrifices and issued Prākrit inscriptions. Though the origin of the Pallavas is debated, it is probable, as Nilakanta Sastri thinks (*History of South India*), that, like the Kadambas, they were rulers of North Indian origin who migrated to South India. Originally feudatories of the Sātavāhanas, they rose to power after their fall and adopted local traditions for their own use.

Pliny refers to the Āndhras having a big army and 30 fortresses. At the height of their power, they ruled over the whole of the Deccān. They had, however, to engage in conflict with the Śakas who occupied the Indus delta and spread from there in the first century A.D. The last king to control the western and eastern provinces was Yajnaśri. After the fall of this empire, in the third century A.D., various minor dynasties rose to power in different parts of the empire. The Cālukyas consolidated the unity of the Deccan which had disappeared after the end of Sātavāhana power. Pulakeśin II (609-642) of this dynasty became the most powerful ruler of South India and checked the advance

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who appear by the beginning of the 5th century A.D. When Samudra Gupta raided the Deccān in the middle of the 4th century, he claims to have defeated, captured and liberated 12 kings including Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñci. Whether Samudragupta actually reached Kāñci (the Pallava capital) is not certain. The expedition must have added to the political unsettlement in the area. Very little is known of the extreme south from 300 to 600 A.D. This period of darkness is generally ascribed to the destruction caused by a tribe called the Kalabhras who overthrew all the old dynasties. But, in the Deccān, there ruled many minor dynasties. By the middle of the 6th century, Kalabhra rule in the south was overthrown by Simhaviṣṇu Pallava (574-600) on one side and Kaḍunkōn Paṇḍya (590-620) on the other. About the same time, the Cālukyas rose to power in the Deccān, and there began a period of struggle among these powers. When the Cālukyas were displaced by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by the middle of the 8th century, they inherited the quarrel with the Pallavas. While Pallava power was exhausted by these wars and ended by the 9th century, the Pāṇḍyas increased in power in the south.

of Harṣa. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas waged a struggle for supremacy in India with the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj and the Pālas of Bengāl.[25] The Cōḻa dominions under Rājarāja I included all India south of the Tuṅgabhadrā and Ceylon. The Eastern Cālukyas between the Krisnā and the Gōdāvarī were subject to him. To their north, as far as the Mahānadī, all Kaliṅgā was under the Cōḻas. His son, Rājendra I, conquered the Iḍaiturai Nāḍu (the Raichur Dōāb) beyond the Tuṅgabhadrā and led also an expedition to North India (1023).[26] He defeated Mahīpāla I of Bengal (1025). R. D. Bánerji believes that the Sena dynasty of Bengal was set up by Sāmantasena (c. 1050-75) who went from the south with this Cōḻa expedition. Some authors, however, believe that Sāmantasena was a Karnāṭaka chief who accompanied the expedition led by Vikramāditya, the son of the Cālukyan king, Sōmeśvara I, to Bengal in which he defeated Vigrahapāla III. Karnāṭaka seems to have supplied other royal families also. Dr. Altekar holds that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of whom he remarks "Very few Hindu dynasties have ruled in their full glory for so long a period (more than two centuries)",[27] had their original home in Karnāṭaka. In the first half of the twelfth century, a Karnāṭaka dynasty was set up in Tirhut (Tīrabhukti) and it claimed supremacy over Nepal. Right up to the period of Vijayanagar,[28] contact between the north and the south owing to political reasons were many. During these periods, it is undoubted that cross-currents of culture would have streamed throughout South India and parts of North India.

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[25] Dhruva (780-792) defeated Vatsarāja, the Gūrjara ruler, though there was no annexation of territory. His successor, Govinda III (792-814) defeated Nāgabhaṭa II Gūrjara and his ally, Dharmapāla of Bengāl, and received the submission of Cakrāyudha of Kanauj. His brother, Indra, was his viceroy in Gujarāt. Indra III (915-927) waged successful wars with Mahipāla I of Kanauj. Kriṣṇa III (939-966) was supreme in the peninsula.

[26] The Cōḻa empire was at its height under Rājendra I (1012-1044) and was also the biggest Hindu state in India at that time. Though the empire became limited to the area south of the Kriṣna and the Tuṅgabhadrā on the west and the Gōdāvarī on the east under Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1118), it was still a great power which had diplomatic relations with Gāhadvālas of Kanauj.

[27] *Rashtrakutas and Their Times* pp. 413-14.

[28] The Cōḻas inherited the duel with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their successors, the Later Cālukyas. This conflict exhausted all powers and left the way open for the rise of the Yādavas and the Kakatīyas in the north and

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri remarks, referring to South India "This great cultural transformation was apparently effected in a very peaceful manner; the literature bears no sign of opposition to the inflow of the new influences or conflict with them; on the contrary, there is abundant evidence that they were everywhere welcomed and embraced with alacrity . . . The vision of the poets of our age was not limited to the confines of the Tamiḻ country, the whole of India from the Himālayās to Cape Comorin is often

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the Hoysālas and the Pāṇḍyas in the south. After the fall of the Cālukyas by the end of the 12th century, the Yādavas set up their power in North Deccān. The Hoysālas also became independent but their power was well established only by Viṣṇuvardhana (1110-1152). Muslim invasions which began by the end of the 13th century unsettled all these four states.

Mālik Kāfur, after overthrowing the Yādavas, attacked the last great Hoysāla king, Vīra Bellāḷa (1291-1342) and defeated him. Both states were later annexed to the Delhi sultanate. The break-up of this sultanate by the end of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq affected South India. The Bāhmani sultanate was set up by Alā-ud-dīn I (1347-1358) and consisted of 14 rulers. The last great ruler was Muhammad III (1463-1482). The last Bāhmani died in 1527 and his minister, Ali Barīd set up his dynasty at Bīḍar. Fathullā, entitled Imād-ul-Mulk, set up his dynasty in Berār (though he did not assume royal titles) in 1490. Ahmad Nizām Ākbar Shāh set up in the same year his dynasty at Ahmadnagar. Quli Qutb Shāh became independent at Gōlkoṇḍa in 1518, and set up a state which stretched as far north as Orissa. Yūsuf Āḍil Shāh established the Bījāpur state in 1490. Thus, most of the Deccān fell under Muslim rule—first under the Sultanate of Delhi and then under the Bāhmani Empire which disintegrated only in the 16th century. Contemporaneously with the establishment of the Bāhmani power in the 14th century, Vijayanagar consolidated the south under Hindu rule, maintaining itself till the 17th century. Kapilendra, who set up the Gajapati dynasty in Kaliṅga, waged wars with the Bāhmanis and Vijayanagar and extended his territory from the Hūghli to the Kāverī as far south as Tirucirāppaḷḷi. The foundation of Vijayanagar was due to the resolve of the Hindus of South India to save the land south of the Tuṅgabhadrā for the Hindus. Indignation was general that Muslim attacks had led to slaughter of Hindus and plunder of their sacred shrines. Though the state had to engage in wars with its Muslim neighbours in the north—the Bāhmanis and the Deccani sultanates, it managed to keep the south essentially Hindu under its four dynasties—Saṅgama (1336-1486), Sāluva (1486-1505), Tuluva (1505-1576) and Āravīḍu (1576-1649). The most important ruler, Kriṣṇadevarāya (1509-1529) brought all South India under him. The Deccāni sultanates combined and defeated Vijayanagar in 1565. The actual battle was fought 30 miles from Tālikōṭa between the villages of Rākṣasi and Tengāḍi. See Nilakanta Sastri—*History of India*, Vol. II p. 135. Still, the empire persisted and had a span of 3 centuries before it broke up. Venkaṭa I (1585-1614) is said to have received envoys from Ākbar.

referred to especially in connection with the conquest of different heroes".[29]

Let us first consider the results of this contact on learning and literature. We take note of the fact that the languages of South India are distinct from those of North India, and these separate families of languages may be correctly termed 'Āryan' and 'Drāviḍian'. The theory that the Drāviḍian languages developed from Samskṛit through ordinary development or corruption is false. It has been demonstrated by scholars[30] that in orthography, word-formation, prosody and grammar the Drāviḍian languages totally differ from Samskṛit. Caldwell who established their independence from Samskṛit suggested that they were akin to the so-called Scythian group of languages. This view is now discarded, as there are many points in which the Drāviḍian languages differ from Turanian languages like the Turkish or the Finnish. Grierson[31] would consider the Drāviḍian languages as an independent isolated group. Inflection of words is done in these by agglutination. Suffixes are added to form cases and tenses. Words are formed from roots by adding suffixes, the root itself being generally unaltered. There are only two numbers-singular and plural. The higher numerals are counted in tens. The negative conjunction is separate. Adjectives have no gender, number, case or degrees of comparison.

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[29] *A New History of the Indian People.* (ed. Sir Jadunath Sarkar) Vol. VI ch. 12. pp. 226-7. The following in *Ibid* (Introduction pp. 4-5) may also be noted. "The absence of an enduring political unity in the country was more than counterbalanced by an all-pervasive cultural uniformity that prevailed throughout the land . . . . A Vasubandhu from Peshawar would go to Ayōdhya to preach his Māhāyāna Philosophy, a Dharmapāla from Kāñcī would settle down in Nālandā to preside over and guide its educational activities . . . During the 3rd century A.D. the enthusiasm for *Vedic* sacrifices was as marked in Rājputāna as it was in the Tamil̲ country." The fundamental unity of India is also emphasised in the following verse of *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* II, 3.

Uttaram yat samudrasya Himādrēścaiva dakṣiṇam |
Varṣam tat Bhāratam nāma Bhāratī yatra santatiḥ ||

[30] M. Śrīnivāsa Iyengār (*Tamil̲ Studies*) gives an elaborate account of these differences in ch. 7. His account can be summarised thus (A) Parts of Speech :—No dual in Tamil̲; in Tamil̲, neuter gender only for inanimate objects and irrational beings; Tamil̲ nouns inflected by adding postpositions and separate particles and not by case terminations; Tamil̲ has only 3 tenses and 3 moods, while Samskrit has 6 tenses and 4 moods; Tamil̲ has no relative pronoun; Tamil̲ adjectives have no number, gender and case and no degrees of comparison. (B) Orthography: While Samskrit has 13 vowels, 33 consonants, one anusvara and one visarga and lacks the short vowels எ and ஒ and the consonants ழ, ற, ன and ஃ, Tamil̲ has 12 vowels, 18 consonants and one semi-vowel. 24 Samskrit letters have no Tamil̲ equivalents. (C) Word-formation:—Differences regarding Sandhi. (D) Prosody:—The division of topics into Aham and Puṛam and according to the 5 tiṇais and metres like Venba, Kalippa, Āsiriappa etc. are pecular to Tamil̲.

[31] *Linguistic Survey of India,* Vol. IV. p. 282.

Isolation does not, however, imply absence of contact altogether. It has been pointed out that there are a number of verbal roots in Samskṛit which are not found in other Indo-European languages. A great part of its vocabulary is also traced to borrowings from Drāviḍian words. The presence of the cerebrals in the Samskṛit alphabet and the absence of the subjunctive mood in Samskṛit which also differentiate Samskṛit from other Indo-European languages is ascribed to Drāviḍian linguistic influence.[32] In the same way, Āryan speech affected the Drāviḍian tongues. In North India, the Drāviḍians mingled with the conquerors and adopted their speech. But, in South India, the Drāviḍian languages persisted. Of these languages, Tamiḻ is comparatively free from the influence of Samskṛit because of the remoteness of the Tamiḻ country. Telugu was so much affected by Samskṛit and Prākrit that early Telugu grammarians were misled and formed the erroneous view that Telugu was derived from Samskṛit. K. Sivaramakrishniah suggests[33] that the Āndhras who established themselves in the Telugu land were an Āryan tribe who spoke Prākṛit and that the original Drāviḍian speech of the natives of this land is mixed with it and that in due course, there arose the Telugu speech. Since the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to the Āndhras as outside the Aryan fold, this theory needs further consideration before it could be accepted. But, we may grant that the development of the Telugu language was influenced by Samskṛit and Prākṛit, Nannayya, the author of the first literary work in Telugu, was a Samskṛit scholar, and it is estimated that his translation of the *Mahābhārata* contains seventy-five per cent of its words drawn from Samskṛit. What the original speech in these areas was is not clear. If Tamil̲ was the parent tongue of all Drāviḍian languages, it might have been a dialect of Tamil̲. But, even by the days of the Saṅgam Literature, it seems to have become sufficiently separated, because the people north of the Tamil̲ area of Tirupati were termed 'Vaḍukar' speaking a distinct language.[34] In the course of its development, Telugu was exposed to further influences from the north, so much so, that, at present, about one-third of its vocabulary is derived from the roots of Āryan speech.

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[32] Caldwell also ascribes the use of two nouns for the first person plural, use of the letter ḷ, use of postpositions and the making of tenses by means of particles to Drāviḍian influence. Some forms even in *Rig Veda* have been regarded as Non-Āryan. In *Vedic* speech, we find many words not found in other Indo-European languages. The relationship between the two races was not always hostile. Besides intermarriages, large numbers of the older people became slaves of the conquerors so much so that the term 'Dāsa' came to mean a slave in course of time. Several place-names in Bengāl, Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt have Drāviḍian terminations.

[33] *Studies in Drāviḍian Philology*, Part I, p. 20 ff It is suggested by some writers that the term 'Trilinga' (the land of the 3 lingas—of Kālahasti, Śri Śailam and Dākṣārāma) was the origin of the word 'Telugu',

Kannaḍa and Tulu (which is closely allied to Kannaḍa) have more affinities of grammar and vocabulary with Tamil̲ than Telugu. When Kannaḍa originated it is difficult to say. The Mysore Archaeological Department has tried to establish that some sentences in the *Oxyrrhynchus Papyrus* (which could be assigned to the third century A.D.) are made up of Kannaḍa words. But, there has been no agreement about this view.[35] If the Karunāṭar referred to in the *Silappadhikāram*[36] as unfriendly to Seṅguṭṭuvan were the Kannaḍa people, a separation might have occurred quite early between them and the Tamils. The earliest Kannaḍa literature developed under the Western Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ.[37] But, the first known Kannaḍa work would seem to be the *Kavirājamārga* composed in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Amōghavarṣa. Here, also, the influence of Samskṛit began to affect the development of the language. Ponna, the poet patronised by Kriṣṇa III, was proficient in both Samskṛit and Kannaḍa. The use of Samskṛit words increased to such an extent that Nayasena, the Jaina moralist of the twelfth century, had to protest against the unnecessary importation of Samskṛit words.[38] While the earliest grammars of the Tamil̲ language are in Tamil̲, those of Telugu and Kannaḍa are in Samskṛit.

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[34] The poem of Kāri-kaṇṇan *Aham.* 107.

[35] See also Saletore—*Ancient Karnāṭakas* I, Appendix A.

[36] Canto XXV, ll. 156-7.

[37] The earliest Kannaḍa inscription is the Palmidi record which is assigned to the middle of the 5th century A.D.

[38] Krishna Rao refers to the use of classical Samskṛit words in an unaltered form in Kannaḍa literature under the Gaṅgas—*Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ*, p. 276.

The development of Malayāḷam is more clearly seen. The ancient Cera country undoubtedly spoke Tamil̲ and there were distinguished Saṅgam poets in that land. The *Aiṅguṟunūṟu* was compiled by five poets under the orders of the Cera, Yānaikansey mandāramseraliṟumpoṟai. *Silappadhikāram* is believed to be by Ilankō Aḍigaḷ, brother of Seṅguṭṭuvan. After the fall of the Pāṇḍya and Cōḻa dynasties, Ravivarman Kulaśekara (fourteenth century) established his supremacy in South India. After him, contact between Keraḷa and the rest of South India gradually ceased. With the extinction of the Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya dynasties matrimonial contacts with the royal family of Keraḷa also came to an end. Separated by the mountain barriers of the Western Ghats, the Tamil̲ spoken in this area gradually changed into Malayāḷam. Malabār can be approached only from Mysore through Coorg or from Wynād through some difficult passes or from Coimbatore through the Palghāt gap. Hence, difficulties of communications separated Malabār on the land side. The Tamil̲ speech of this area at the beginning of the Christian era was called Koḍun Tamil̲. Malayāḷam developed from it. The great influence of Samskṛit on this language began with Eḻuttacan (seventeenth century) who introduced Samskṛit words in plenty and also the use of Samskṛit case-endings. From now, Samskṛit so much affected the language that some writers formed the wrong impression that Malayāḷam was a dialect of Samskṛit. The continued use in Malayāḷam of the characteristic Tamil̲ letter 'ḻ', which in modern Kannaḍa is replaced by 'ḷ' and in modern Telugu by '*ṭ*' shows the late separation of Malayāḷam from Tamil̲. Even now, half of the words in Malayāḷam are of Tamil̲ origin and the script based on Tamil̲ grantha.

The antiquity of Tamil̲ is attested to by the tradition that both Tamil̲ and Samskṛit were created by Śiva. But, the earliest Tamil̲ literature which has come down to us is what is called the Saṅgam literature. Tradition speaks of three saṅgams. But, the accounts of these saṅgams are so overloaded with legendary details that scholars like Sivarāja Pillai have dismissed all of them as unhistorical. But Ramachandra Dikshitar, after a full discussion,[39] accepts that there was a saṅgam from early times, though when it originated we cannot definitely say. The saṅgam[40] differed from the pariṣad of the north which was only a gathering of learned scholars. It was an academy which judged the merits of literary productions submitted to it for its approval. The saṅgam literature, as it has come down to us, consists mainly of anthologies of the compositions of different poets. It is generally attributed to the first three centuries of the Christian era, and it is also assumed that *Silappadikāram* and *Maṇimekhalai,* at least in the nucleus, are works of the saṅgam age. The saṅgam literature shows that Tamiḻ was already well developed by that time. Āryan influence was never able to destroy the individuality of the language. Nilakanta Sastri truly observes 'The persistent independence of the Tamiḻ idiom....in the face of Samskrit is in striking contrast with the almost total disappearance of non-Samskrit vernaculars in other parts of India.[41]' But, here also contact inevitably had its influence. The saṅgam poets, according to tradition included Brāhmaṇā scholars. The *Ahanānūṛu* is said to have been collected by a Brāhmaṇā named Rudraśarman on the orders of the Pāṇḍyan king, Ugra Peruvaḻudi. Gautama, a Brāhmaṇā, celebrated the achievements of the father of Cera Seṅguṭṭuvan. To the same caste belonged Kapilar[42] and possibly Mamūlanār and Nakkīṛar.[43] The *Perumpāṇaṟṟuppaḍai* gives a description of the Brāhmanā quarters in a village in Toṇḍaināḍu.

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[39] *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, ch. 1.

The *Paṭṭiṇappālai* not only describes the monasteries of the Buddhists and the Jainas but also refers to the smoke arising from the sacrifices offered by Brāhmaṇās. These references would show that Kanakasabhai's conclusion[44] that Brāhmaṇā colonists were few in the saṅgam period is not tenable. By the time of the saṅgam period, Tamiḻ had not only been fully formed, but had also imbibed many words and ideas from Samskṛit. The *Paripāḍal* which consists of poems on deities shows much familiarity with the *Upaniṣads* and the *Purāṇas.* The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were well known. Perhaps, as a result of the impact of Buddhist philosophy, we find a note of disgust for worldly existence in later literature, particularly in the *Maṉimekhalai*. As Nilakanta Sastri says,[45] 'We have at present no traces of any literary work in the Tamil̲ language which does not betray Sanskrit influence to some extent'. It has been calculated that the poem *Neḍunalvāḍai* contains twenty Samskṛit words. At the time of Tolkāppiyar also Samskṛit words were not many. The poem *Maduraikkāñci* contains about fifty Samskṛit words. Samskṛit words like 'Bali', 'Mantram' and 'Śānti' are found in the *Padiṟṟuppattu*. The *Kural̲* has a number of Samskṛit terms like 'Ādibhagavān'. The proportion of Samskṛit words increases when we come to later works, though, compared with other Drāviḍian languages, Tamil̲ retains greater purity. The large influx of Samskṛit words even forced the authors of the grammatical words *Vīracōl̲iyam* and *Nannūl* to frame rules for adapting Samskṛit words into Tamil.

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[40] The term is perhaps due to Buddhism. The institution is called Avai, Kuḍal or Kaḻagam in the saṅgam literature. The term 'saṅgam' is found, however, in the *Maṇimekhalai.*

[41] *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom,* p. 2.

[42] *Puṛanānuṛu,* 200.

[43] *Aham.* 24. But, some regard him as a Veḷḷāḷa.

[44] *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago,* p. 55.

Tamil̲ also developed independent literary forms even by the saṅgam period. A conventionalised literary form called Aintiṇai tended to be typical of the five regions—Kuṟinci, Neidal, Pālai, Mullai and Marudam. The subject matter had a peculiar division of Aham and Puṟam. Tamil̲ developed independent poetical metres. Samskṛit influence showed itself later. Though the metre and the poetic conventions of the *Silappadhikāram* are indigenous, it imitates the Samskṛit epic form. The *Jīvaka-cintāmaṇi* is based on the Samskṛit Kāvya form. A new metrical form—viruttam—developed in imitation of Samskṛit prosody. There grew up also translations and adaptations of Samskṛit works. An early example is *Tolkāppiyam* which was based on the Aindra school of grammarians. Pāṇini mentions Indra as one of his predecessors; but, Indra's work is now lost. The most important examples in later times are the *Bhāratam* of Perundevanār and the *Rāmāyanam* of Kambar. It is important to note, however, that the impact of the north never obliterated pre-existing modes and styles, and even the translations of Samskṛit works like *Kamba Rāmāyanam* depart markedly from the originals in many respects. The alphabet of all the Drāviḍian languages has been derived from Brāhmi, though the scripts of all these languages tended to be differentiated in course of time. Kannaḍa and Telugu developed from Brāhmi independently. The growth of the Tamiḻ script seems to have been by stages. Till the 4th century A.D., all inscriptions are in Prākrit. The presence of the inscriptions of Aśōka in Prākrit and in the Brāhmi script shows that Prākrit language and the Brāhmi script were fairly familiar in South India. There are short Brāhmi inscriptions in the rock-cut beds of certain caves in the Madurai and Tirunelveli districts which are in a script which could be assigned to the later half of the third century B.C. Though the script is Brāhmi, the language is primitive Tamiḻ. The inscriptions were perhaps only the names of the monks who occupied these beds. Some think that the pure Tamiḻ word '*eḻuttu*' indicates that the Tamils were acquainted with letters long before the introduction of the Brāhmi script from the north. Whatever this might be, in the inscriptions of the Pallava dynasty, the script evolves from Brāhmi into grantha. This early Pallava grantha script was taken by Hindu colonists to Indonesia and Indo-China. The script then evolved into Tamiḻ and Vaṭṭeḻuttu. Though Burnell maintained that the latter had an independent origin, Caldwell, Grierson and Bühler agree that it was also derived from Brāhmi. Vaṭṭeḻuttu perhaps came into existence in the early Christian era, for Tolkāppiar refers to it. It declined and was gradually superseded by the Tamiḻ script, though in the Pāṇḍyan land inscriptions in both scripts occur till the 8th century. Vaṭṭeḻuttu went out of use in the Tamiḻ land by the 10th century. But, it continued in Keraḷa for some more time, for nearly four centuries more. It was then supplanted by a new script based on grantha which became the present Malayāḷam script.

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[45] *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 2.

Grantha seems to have come into use in the seventh century A.D. when the Pallavas seemed to have been the first people to use it for their Tamiḻ inscriptions.[46] The Kūram plates, perhaps the earliest Pallava Samskṛit-Tamiḻ record, contain Tamiḻ words similar to modern Tamiḻ. But, the modern Tamiḻ script has changed from the grantha script of the records. We can see the development in the Cōḻa inscriptions where the grantha characters begin to change from those in the Pallava inscriptions.

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[46] The Tamiḻ of Pallava records show some similarity to modern Tamiḻ from the time of Parameśvaravarman I.

If we accept the view of Dr. Langdon that Brāhmi is derived from the script of the Indus Valley (which view is, however, disputed) and if we accept the view that the Indus Valley culture is Drāviḍian (which view seems to be highly probable), even the Brāhmi script may be ascribed to the effect of Drāviḍian influence.[47] It may also be mentioned that, even after the modern Tamiḻ alphabet developed, it retained traces of the past. The principle of adding a dot to the consonants is found in no North Indian alphabets, which also do not have the peculiar letters ḻ, ḷ, ṛ, ṉ, and ஃ. A marked difference between other Drāviḍian scripts (which had been greatly affected by Samskrit) and Tamiḻ is the inadequacy of consonants in Tamiḻ. For instance, the letter k has to serve to indicate the sounds k, kh, g and gh. Liquid ḻ is retained in Tamiḻ and Malayāḷam, unlike the others.

Patronage of kings extended to all learning—northern as well as southern. Grants to scholars were common both in North and South India. We have several instances even in the saṅgam period. The *Padiṟṟuppattu* refers to benefactions given by the Cera kings to Brāhmaṇā scholars. The *Keraḷōlpatti,* the oldest chronicle in Malayāḷam, asserts that the Nampūtiris of Malabār were the descendants of Brāhmaṇās brought by Paraśurāma from the Pāncāla country. But, this work which dates to the seventeenth century is unhistorical, and its contents are of doubtful accuracy. The Nampūtiris were perhaps immigrants from the Tamiḻ land who settled in Keraḷa. Kāñci was a celebrated centre of Samskṛit studies. Mayūraśarman (345-60), who founded the Kadamba dynasty, studied in a ghaṭikā here and completed his *Vedic* studies.[48] Kāñci was also a great Buddhist centre. In the fourth century A.D. the famous Buddhist writer, Dignāga, finished his studies in Kāñci.[49]

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[47] Rhys Davids believes that the Indian alphabet is derived from Semitic sources and was imported into India by Drāviḍian merchants in the 8th or 7th century. Thomas follows the same view.

[48] Tālaguṇḍa record of Kakusthavarman (*Epigraphica Indica* VII 105). In the 4th century A.D. Vātsyāyana, a scholar of this city, wrote the *Nyāya Bhāṣya,* the most authoritative commentary on the *Nyāya Sūtras* of Gautama. Mayūraśarman is said to have introduced Brāhmaṇa colonists from North India from whom the Haiga Brāhmaṇas of N. W. Mysore are said to be descended. But, Moraes thinks that the Kadamba tree is native to South India and so the dynasty is South Indian. Krishna Rao believes that he was indeed born in a suburb of Kāñcī.

[49] *Early Dynasties of Andhra Deśa,* p. 381.

Yuan Chwang says that Dharmapāla, head of the Nālanda University, belonged to Kāñci. The poet Bhāravi is associated with Simhaviṣṇu Pallava, and Daṇḍin is also associated by some with Pallava patronage.[50] Mahendravarman I himself wrote the Samskrit farce,[51] Mattavilāsaprahasanam. Some think that the editions of the plays now extant and attributed to Bhāsa are adaptations of the original plays and these were made in the reign of Narasimhavarman II. Brahmadeyams were granted to learned scholars from the north. Sometimes, men learned in the four *Vedas* were allotted villages called Caturvedimaṅgalams which formed centres of Samskṛit culture. The earliest of these so far known is Simhaviṣṇu Caturvedimaṅgalam. Parameśvaravarman's Kūram grant[52] of Parameśvaramaṅgalam provided for the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* in a maṇḍapa. Such grants and such prescriptions of *Purāṇic* recitations became very common. The Kasākudi charter of Nandivarman II gave a grant to one Jyēṣṭapada Sōmayāji and refers to his attainments in the following glowing terms[53]: The scholar is said to have mastered the ocean-like *Vedas,* the six auxiliary works (i.e. the *Vedāntas*), drunk the elixir of the *Śruti* and *Smriti,* was learned in both Karmakāṇḍa and Jñānakāṇḍa, was skilled in arts and in all branches of knowledge and had performed several sacrifices. The Bāhūr plates of Nṛipatuṅgavarman record[54] an endowment by his minister for the maintenance of an institution devoted to the study of the *Vedas* and the *Śāstras.* Of similar endowments, the most famous is the inscription (1023) of the Cōḻa Rājendra I[55] concerning the Samskṛit college at Eṇṇāyiram where the *Vedas,* Samskṛit grammar and Samskṛit philosophy were studied. Rājendra I[56] also imported a colony of Śaivites from Bengāl and settled them in places like Kāñcī. Śāntamūla, the Ikṣvāku king, gave extensive lands to Brāhmaṇās who came from the north and the north-east.[57] The

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[50] The introduction to his *Avantisundarikathā* refers to this. His *Kāvyadarśa* influenced poetics in Tamiḻ, Kannaḍa and Sinhālese.

[51] It is published by the late Paṇḍit Ganapati Sāstri of Travancore.

[52] *South Indian Inscriptions* I, pp. 148-55; *Indian Antiquary* VIII, 275.

[53] *South Indian Inscriptions* II, Part 2, p. 358 ff.

[54] *Epigraphica Indica* IV, p. 180.

[55] *Annual Report of Epigraphy,* Southern Circle, 1917, No. 341.

[56] *A.S.I.* 1911-12, p. 176.

[57] Agrahāra villages with which learned Brāhmaṇā scholars were endowed became great centres of learning. We learn that the inhabitants of the Agra-

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Madras Museum plates of the Pāṇḍyan king Jaṭilavarman (Neduñjaḍayan)[58] record that a colony of Brāhmaṇās from Magadha were settled in the Pāṇḍyan land. Colonists of other castes must also have come. The *Maṇimekhalai*[59] says that Magadhan artisans, Yavana carpenters and blacksmiths from Avanti cooperated with local craftsmen in building Kāverippaṭṭiṇam. A comparatively later instance of the immigration of such craftsmen is that of the Saurāṣṭrās who perhaps came from Gujarāt. They set up silk weaving in South India during the Vijayanagar period. The Muslim invasion of North India also led to a large influx of refugees to the south.

Cultured courts throughout South India patronized literature in all its forms. There were Buddhist and Jaina scholars who were well versed in Samskṛit. Parameśvaravarman's copper plate record of Kūram[60] is a Samskṛit poem composed in the artificial kāvya style. The Gaṅga king, Durvinīta,[61] who patronized Bhāravi, rendered the Paiśāci *Bṛihatkathā* into Samskṛit. The Kadamba temple of Pranameśwara at Tāḷaguṇḍa was a centre of studies of the *Vedas* and other branches of Samskṛit knowledge.[62] The Eastern Cālukyas encouraged Samskṛit literature from the very beginning. A minister of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Kriṣṇa III, endowed a college attached to a temple at Salotgi which gave free teaching, lodging and boarding to the students.[63] In the Tamiḻ inscriptions, we find admixture of Samskṛit. In the reign of Parāntaka I, Venkaṭa Mādhava wrote his commentary on the *Ṛig Veda*. At the order of Rājarāja II, Keśavasvāmin compiled the Samskṛit lexicon called *Nānārthārṇavasaṅkṣēpā*. The Kākatiya king, Pratāparudra I composed a *Nītisāra* in Samskṛit. Thus, the list goes on[64] down

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hāra of Piṣṭapuram (modern Pithapur in the Andhra Deśa) were famous scholars and teachers in the 6th century A.D. *Epigraphica Indica* XVIII 98.

[58] *Indian Antiquary*, 1893, Vol. 22, p. 57.

[59] Canto XIX, 11, 107-9.

[60] The Praśasti portion of even the Tamiḻ epigraphs of the Pallavas is in Samskrit.

[61] His predecessor, Mādhava II (3rd century A.D.), is said to have mastered the *Upaniṣads*.

[62] *Epigraphica Carnatica* VII, Sk. 185.

[63] *Epigraphica Indica* IV, p. 60.

[64] Someśvara III Cālukya is believed to be the author of the *Mānasōllasam*. Jaitrapāla Yādava was himself proficient in the *Vedas* and the *Śāstras*. A manuscript copy of the *Amarakōśa*, written on tāla leaves during the

to the Vijayanagar period. During this period, Sāyana, helped by his brother, Mādhava, wrote commentaries on the *Vedas*. Kriṣṇadevarāya composed the Samskṛit play, *Jāmbavatī Kalyāṇam*. Just as the Vijayanagar rulers patronized Samskṛit, Telugu and Kannaḍa, the later Nāyak rulers patronized Samskṛit in addition to Telugu and Tamil.[65]

When we turn now to religion, we enter on a more controversial field. Whatever primitive religious usages there might have been, by the time we get our earliest glimpse of South Indian society in the saṅgam literature, we find already that Brāhmaṇical Buddhist and Jaina influences play a part in the social and religious life of the country, mixed up with old usages, and a process of assimilation is already visible. The *Tolkāppiyam* classifies Indra as the lord of Marudam (agricultural land), Muruga or Sēyōn or Vēlan as the lord of Kurinci (hill country), Durgā or Koṛṛavai as the deity of Pālai (desert), Varuṇa as the lord of Neidal (maritime region), and Māyōn as the god of Mullai (pastoral area). These regional deities seem to be worshipped with primitive ritual dances, often accompanied by feasting. Sesha Iyengar asserts that 'the Vedic gods must have been originally Drāviḍian deities'.[66] Though some might have been so, as we shall see presently, there is no warrant for this sweeping assertion. Indra and Varuṇa were deities brought from the north as also Baladeva who was worshipped in the saṅgam period. Indra was the great helper of the *Ṛig Vedic* people. Their enemies were the Anindras, i.e. those without Indra, meaning those who despised Indra.[67] Varuṇa, who first symbolised the sky, became later the god of the ocean, the ocean being unknown to the *Ṛig Vedic* people. The Āryan character of these deities is established by the mention of Indra, Varuṇa, and Mitra amongst the deities of the Āryan-speaking Mitanni in the Boghaz Koi inscription of Asia Minor which could be dated to about 1400 B.C. The chief distinction between the pre-Āryan and the Āryan methods of worship was

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reign of Rāmachandra Yādava (4398 Kali 1297 A.D.) is preserved in the library of the Deccan College, Poona.

[65] Sevappa Nāyak of Tanjore honoured with gifts the great Advaita scholar, Appaya Dikṣita and the great Madhwa scholar, Vijayendra Tirtha.

[66] *Drāviḍian India*, p. 96.

[67] *Ṛig Veda*, I, 133.

that, before the advent of Āryan influence, religious rites did not involve the use of fire, but consisted mostly of ecstatic dances which have continued in the villages down to our time. By the saṅgam period, the fire cult had become widely prevalent. The Pāṇḍyan king, Mudukkuḍumi Peruvaḻuti, patronized yāgas.[68] Saṅgam poetry refers to the performance of sacrifices. The *Silappadhikāram* refers to yāgas performed for bringing rain,[69] and gives a picture of a Brāhmaṇā 'kindling his three fires with the sacrificial utensils as ordained by Brahma'.[70] A Brahman, Viṇṇandāyan, is said to have performed twenty-one kinds of *Vedic* sacrifices.[71] The Cōḻa king, Perunaṟkiḷḷi, is said to have performed a Rājasūya.[72] *Purāṇic* and epic stories became well-known by the end of the saṅgam period. The *Silappadhikāram* compares Kāverippaṭṭiṇam after the departure of Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki to Ayōdhya after Rāma and Sītā left it. The same work refers to the churning of the sea with Vāsuki, Śiva's eye in the forehead, and the goddess Gaṅgā on his head, Viṣṇu reclining on his bed of the thousand-hooded serpent and the story of Nala and Damayantī.[73]

In the field of religion also, there were reciprocal contributions both from the north and the south. Muruga, the red god connected with hill-shrines, must have been a Drāviḍian deity. There were several dances in his honour. The *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* refers to the Vēlan veṟiyāḍal in which one becomes possessed and dances, and the others in the crowd also join. Another ritual dance associated with Muruga was the Kuḍaikūttu. Muruga was later identified with Skanda, son of Śiva. Pāṇini mentions Skanda.[74] Muruga got a place in the Hindu pantheon as Ṣubrahmaṇya. His worship in the form of Kārtikeya extended to Northern India and we find it mentioned in Gupta inscriptions. This happy synthesis is already illustrated in the *Silappadhikāram* which praises Muruga as the killer of the Asura, Śūra.[75]

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[68] Kāri-Kiḻar praises him as the பல்யாக சாலை முதுக்குடுமி and refers to his going round the temple of the three-eyed god,and bending his head low before the upraised hands of the *Vedic* sages pronouncing words of benediction (*Puram*, 6.) He is mentioned as the first donor of the Veḷvikuḍi grant which says that he helped a Brahmaṇa called Koṟkaikiḻān Naṟkoṟṟan to finish a yāga he had begun.

[69] Canto X, 11, 142-7.

[70] Canto XXII, 11,16-36.

[71] *Puṟam*, 166.

[72] *Ibid.*, 16. இராச சூயம் வேட்ட பெருநற்கிள்ளி

[73] See particularly lines 35-51 in *Silappadhikāram* (*Maduraikkāṇḍam—Kāḍu kāṇ kātai*) for the references to Viṣṇu lying on Adiśeṣa at Śrīrangam and the same deity standing with conch and the cakra on the top of Venkaṭa hill.

The worship of Indra seems to have been important in the saṅgam period.[76] The *Silappadhikāram* refers to a temple of Indra and the whole of Canto 5 is a description of a festival in his honour at the end of which all took a bath in the sea. *Maṇimekhalai* also refers to the Indra festival. It may be noted that the worship of Indra also prevailed under the early Sātavāhanas, though it soon seems to have died out in the north.

Another god of the Saṅgam period was Baladeva. In the north also, this deity seems to have been worshipped for some time. There is a reference to a shrine of Sankarṣna in the *Artha-Śāstra*. R. G. Bhandārkar held that in the time of Patañjali there was a cult of Balarāma.[77]

The opening lines of the *Śilappadikāram* praise amongst other gods Sūrya. It is worthy of note that the sun cult lingered in India for a long time.[78] Several Gupta records refer to it. Ādityavardhana and Prabhākaravardhana worshipped the sun, and Harṣa honoured this god along with others in his sacred assembly at Prayāg. Narasimha I, the Eastern Ganga King (1238-54), built the famous sun temple at Kōṇārka. Śilāditya I of Valabhi (595-615) worshipped the sun along with Śiva and the Buddha. The Solankis of Gujarāt built the sun temple at Modhara. Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kāśmīr (733-769) built the famous temple of the sun at Mārtāṇḍ.[78a]

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[74] T. G. Aravamudan traces him to a god of Harappa. (*J.B.B.S.*, Vol. 34, Parts 3 and 4, 1949). Evidence from Ādicanallūr, according to Nilaknta Sastri (*History of South India*), supports the theory that the worship of this god was known to the Proto-Mediterranean people of that area, judging from iron tridents (Vel) and representation of fowls in bronze found there. Dr. Bhandarkar has shown that he was worshipped even in the second century B.C. (time of Patāñjali). Skanda appears in the coins of the Kuṣāṇa king, Huviṣka.

[75] *Veṭṭuvar-vari*, Canto XII.

[76] Indra was a typical Āryan god. He is invoked, as already mentioned, along with Mitra, Varuṇa and the Nāsatyas to witness and safeguard certain treaties in tablets of the 14th century B.C. discovered at Boghaz koi.

[77] *Saivism, Vaishnavism and other Religious Systems*, p. 13.

[78] Egyptologists consider that the Osiris cult was not a pure Egyptian invention. The sun-cult seems to be associated with megalithic culture not only in Egypt and Mesopotamia but also in Polyneṣia, Ancient Mexico and Peru and probably also India. At present, worship of the sun figures largely in the ritual of Makhara-saṅkarānti which seems to be really a sort of harvest festival in South India. One of the gods adored by the Ṣālaṅkā-yanas was Citraratha (i.e., the sun).

Śiva finds mention in saṅgam literature. He is given the first place amongst the gods in *Maduraikkāñci.* Tami̲l literature claims Śiva as belonging to the south. Tami̲l is said to have been created by him and he was the president of the first Tami̲l Saṅgam. Dr. Griswold in his *Religion of the Ṛig Veda* had long ago pointed out that the later Śiva was the result of an assimilation of the Āryan Rudra with a Drāviḍian god. The name of Śiva is not found in the *Ṛig Veda* as the name of a god. It occurs simply as an adjective meaning 'propitious'. The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* is the first Āryan literature which speaks of the supremacy of Śiva.[79] The *Ṛig Veda,* however, mentions a terrible god, Rudra, whose rage has to be appeased by offerings. He is a 'malevolent destroyer'.[80] He is the father of the Maruts, the spirits of tempests. Ambikā is his sister now, and not his wife. This Rudra becomes Śiva in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad.* Sir John Marshall has tried to identify a deity of the Indus Valley culture with this later Rudra-Śiva.[81] This deity is seated in a yōgic pose surrounded by four animals. He is with three faces. He has horns.[82] These horns must have later developed into Triśūla. The other attributes coincide with the conceptions of Śiva as Dakṣiṇāmurti, Paśupati and the Śivamaheśamūrti as we find in the caves of Elephanta. Other attributes of Rudra were later engrafted on this old deity after it was adopted by the Āryans. The account in the *Yajur Veda* of Rudra's triumph over the Asuras whose three cities he destroyed is an instance in point. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Śaivism has been a blend of pre-Āryan and Āryan ideas. The undoubted prevalence of the phallic cult in the Indus Valley and the association of the phallus with Śiva lend support to this conclusion. The *Ṛig Veda* refers to phallic worship with disapprobation, and it must have come into use later on with other pre-Āryan usages. It is noteworthy that stone phalli have been found even in ancient neolithic sites.[83] The attempt to trace the liṅga to the sacrificial pillar (yūpa) or any other non-phallic symbol does not seem to be convincing. Those who object to the theory of the phallic origin of the liṅga seem to be actuated by the subconscious feeling that such a theory is repulsive to modern tastes. It is unhistorical to shut our minds to what may be probable simply because we do not like it. Further, the cult of the phallus was widespread in the ancient world and not merely in India. It does not seem to have had indecent associations. Amongst the Romans, the emblem of the phallus was placed near the entrance to the house. Wearing of decorated phalli about the necks which prevailed amongst the hetaerae in Athens and Corinth, was imitated by Roman ladies. At Rome, the sign of the phallus was a *motif* in decoration and was used in making lamps and bells. It must also be remembered that, whatever its origin, ideas connected with the liṅga have been in course of time so sublimated in conception that no modern worshipper ever dreams that he is worshipping anything else than a sacred embodiment of the deity. The yōgic attitude symbolised in a bust found at Mohenjo-Daro is characteristic. It has been described as consisting of a 'stiff, erect posture of the head, the neck and the chest, and half-shut eyes looking fixedly at the tip of the nose'.[84]

[78a] The worship of the moon is also referred to in early Tami̲l literature (e.g., *Kuṛuntokai,* 178). Sōma, the Vedic god, is associated with the mental development of women. It is worthy of note that virgins in the Tami̲l land worshipped the lunar crescent (*Aham.* 231). The *Vedas* also connect the moon with the protection of vegetation. Pliny refers to this superstition which is found in many countries. Even now in South India, there is a belief that bamboos should not be cut in the dark fortnight. But, actual worship of the moon in temples seems to have ceased in India.

[79] III, 2; IV, 16 & 17.

[80] *Ṛig Veda* II. 33, 11 and 14. This conception of Rudra is well formed in the *Ṛig Veda.* See article by Dr. Mahalingam on Rudra-Śiva in the *C. S. Śrīnivāsāchari 61st Birthday celebration Volume* (1950).

[81] Marshall—*Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation,* p. 52. For another view, see Dr. Venkataramanayya—*Rudra-Śiva.*

[82] There is a horn on either side of a tall head dress.

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[83] Bruce Foote—*Indian Prehistoric and Proto-historic Antiquities*, p. 22. See *Mahābhārata-Sauptika Parva*, Canto 17 for association of the Phallus with the Liṅga.

[84] *Memoirs of the Arch. Survey of India*, No. 41, p. 25. See also Sekhare's *History and Philosophy of the Lingayat Cult.*

By the time of *Maṇimekhalai,* the doctrine of the eight forms of Śiva is well known. The *Silappadhikāram* refers to the efficacy of the 'Five Letters' (meaning Namaśvāya).[85] An early Cōḻa king, Kōceṅgan—whom Dr. Krisṇaswami Aiyengar would assign[86] to the closing years of the saṅgam literature—is said to have built seventy temples to Śiva.

It now remains to trace the further development of Śaivism in South India. The dominant note of this is the stress on devotion to Śiva. The earliest exponent of this is Tirumūlar, who must have lived before the sixth century A.D.[87] He was perhaps a shepherd by caste, and he poured out his devotion in his *Tirumantiram.*[88] The Nāyanmārs[89] who are said to be sixty-three in number lived mainly in the Pallava period. They belonged to all classes. Meypporuḷ was a king. Tirunīlakaṇṭhar was a potter. Kaṇṇappar was a hunter. Candeśvarar was a Brāhmaṇā. Amarnīti and Kāraikāl Ammayār were Vaiśyas. Iḷayāṅguḍimārar was a Veḷḷāḷa. There was even a Pariah saint—Nandanār. These flourished between the sixth and ninth centuries. Kāraikkāl Ammayār may be ascribed to 550 A.D. Ceramān Perumāḷ, who was a ruler of Keraḷa, was the contemporary of Dantivarman Pallava. Unlike the exponents of the northern school of Bhakti, the southern saints converted their worship into a devotional form of experience. It was the great age of the Āgamas which made provision for the popular cults and substituted offerings of flowers and fruits to the deity in place of the old *Vedic* sacrifices. Though some of these practices could be gleaned from the *Vedic* literature, many of them perhaps must have been adopted from non-Āryan usage. It is noteworthy that the *Mahābhārata* recognises the Āgamas as one of the many paths which, like the *Vedas,* lead to God. The devotional approach to God is further exemplified in the hymns of the four samayakuravas. Appar,[90] a Vellāḷa, was at first a Jaina and then became a Śaivite. Sambandar,[91] a Brāhmaṇa, (his contemporary), worked in the Pāṇḍyan country in which Jainism was strong and also disputed with the Buddhists. A century later was Sundarar, another Brāhmaṇa.[92] The hymns of these three were later arranged into a collection called *Devāram* (garland of God). Māṇikkavācakar,[93] another Brāhmaṇā, in his *Tirukkōvai,* allegorises the longing of the individual soul to join in communion with God. Thus, his poem expresses the Nāyaka-Nāyakī bhāva of Samskṛit literature, and the devotee is regarded as a woman seeking God, her lover. Māṇikkavācakar is said to have converted the Buddhists at Cidambaram and also two Christian families.

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[85] Canto. XI, 11. 112-34.

[86] *Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, ch. XXII, p. 220.

[87] He preceded Sundara, as the latter refers to him.

[88] It is in four parts—Cāriyai, Kiriyai, Yōgam and Jñānam.

[89] Neḍumāran (mid-seventh century) is identified with Arikesari Māṛavarman or Kūn Pāṇḍya. Ceramān Perumāḷ (9th century) belonged to the Perumāḷ dynasty which ruled a part of Keraḷa.

[90] He was a contemporary of Mahendravarman I whom he is said to have converted from Jainism. So, he must have lived in the early part of the 7th century.

The popularity of the hymns of these four increased in the Cōḻa period and Rājarāja I ordered their recital in the temples. A collection of these sacred hymns was made in the tenth century by Nambiyāṇḍār Nambi.[94] The Cōḻa, Rājendra I, installed images of the Nāyanmārs also in the temples.

By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a systematic attempt to define the tenets of Tamiḻ Śaivism was made in the Śaiva-Siddhānta philosophy. Meykaṇḍār, whom some place in the twelfth century and some in the thirteenth century A.D., seems to have translated a Samskrit original which according to a commentator was part of the *Raurava Āgama.* Tambaiyah argues that this work of Meykaṇḍār was the original and that the Samskrit work came later.[95] But, Meykaṇḍār's *Śivajñānabōdham* (1223) consists of twelve *sūtras* of 81 verses which are accompanied by a *vārtikā* or prose commentary on them. The Samskrit work contains only the *sūtras.* Meykaṇḍār's commentary shows that he must have had before him a Samskrit original and translated it. Meykaṇḍār was a Veḷḷāḷa; but, his disciple, Aruḷnandi Śivācārya, was a Brāhmaṇā. He wrote the *Śivajñāna Siddhiār* which discusses 14 rival systems including Buddhism and Jainism. Umāpati Śivācārya (c. 1290-1320), who lived towards the close of the thirteenth century, is said to be a Dīkṣita of Cidambaram. He wrote eight works, some in Tamil and some in Samskrit like the *Sankalpanirākaranam* (A.D. 1313). The intensely devotional tone of this sect of philosophers is seen in their cardinal tenet that the soul or paśu is liberated from its bondage to matter or pāśam which is the result of past Karma through the grace (aruḷ) of the pati (i.e. Śiva). It has been well expressed[96] that "the *Śivāgamas,* no less than the *Upaniṣads,* have provided the basis for every shade of philosophic thought from monism to pluralism, idealism to realism; but, throughout, there is the insistence on knowledge as the saviour, the insistence characteristic of best Hindu thought". The Tiruvāḍuturai Ādīnam claims succession from Meykaṇḍār. But, the first head seems to have been Namaśivāya Deśikar (sixteenth century). The maṭha has produced scholars well versed in Samskṛit and Tamiḻ who have made great contributions to Śaivá Siddhanta. Another great Śaivite Maṭha is that at Tiruppaṇandāḷ which Kumaraguruparasvāmi is said to have founded as a branch of the maṭha he set up at Kāśi; but, the *Tanjore Gazetteer* thinks that it was founded by Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍāram in the 16th century. Kumaragurupara, who belonged to the age of Tirumala Nāyak, travelled in North India and is said to have met the Mughal Emperor. Kāśi exercised great fascination in the south. A chief in Tirunelveli area who claimed Pāṇḍyan blood built at Tenkāśi a temple of Kāśi Viśvanātha in 1450.

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[91] He was contemporary of Parañjōti, general of Narasimhavarman I and could be dated to the middle of the 7th century A.D. His date and that of Kūn Pāṇḍya have been discussed by Hultzsch (*Epigraphica Indica,* 1894-5). Some identity Kūn Pāṇḍya with the hero celebrated in the commentary on Iṛayanār's *Ahapporuḷ.*

[92] Srinivasa Pillai (*Tamiḻ Varalaṟu* II, pp. 72-3) dates him to the 9th century A.D. on the ground of his having been patronised by Ceramān Perumāḷ according to Sekkiḻār. Sundaram Pillai dates him to the 8th century A.D.

[93] Srinivasa Pillai (*ibid.*, II, pp. 77-125) accepts the tradition dating him after the above three. But, Nilakanta Sastri (*Paṇḍyan Kingdom,* pp. 86-7) holds him to be anterior. He is supposed to have been a minister of the Pāṇḍya, Varaguṇa II (862-80).

[94] The 12 ,*Tirumuṛai's* include 7 collections of *Devārams,* the *Tiruvācakam* (but not the *Tirukōvayar*) of Mānikkavacakar, *Tirumantiram* of Tirumūlar, *Tirumuṛai* by different poets and the *Periya Purānam* of Sekkiḻār. The collection contains also the poems of Paṭṭinatuppiḷḷai (who got this name because he was born in Kāverippaṭṭinam) who is ascribed to the 10th century. The collection made by Nambiāṇḍār Nambi was only 11. The twelfth, *Periya Purāṇam,* was added later. The *Tirumantiram* consists of 3,000 verses divided into 9 sections (or Tantras).

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[95] *Psalms of a Śaiva Saint,* p. 19. Dr. Sekharé (*History and Pilosophy of the Lingayat Religion,* 1942) also thinks that the Āgamas were derived from Tamiḻ originals.

[96] *Cultural Heritage of India,* (Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial), Vol. II, p. 47.

Later Tamiḻ Śaivite literature consists of the hymns of the Siddhas which follow the same devotional tone.[97] They laid stress on personal faith and even regarded worship of images in temples as unnecessary. Some think that Mūlar, earliest of these Siddhas, was influenced by the Himālayan sect of Siddhas like Matsyendra. The Siddhas also came from all classes.

(To be continued)

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[97] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 257. A long list of the Siddhas is given including Tirumūlar, Agastyar, Pulippāni, Koṅganar, Saṭṭaimuni, Iḍaikkāḍar, Kalamuni, Macchamuni, Rōmar, Yūki, Terayar, Kañjamalaisiddhar, Pāmbāṭṭi, Ahappey, Kudampey, Aḻugini, Kaḍuveli, Bhōgar, Nandīśar, Sundarānandar, Brahmamuni, Varāhar, Kūrmar, Puṇṇākkīśar, Kailāsanāthar, Kūnkaṇnar and Śivavākyar. Some include Bhadragiriār also. The names of Gōrakka and Dhanvantari, obviously northern, are also included. We cannot say how many of these were real persons. The similarity between the sayings of northern siddhas like Gōrakka and those of the south is very striking.

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Kingship in the Agni Purana

BY

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Following the traditional Saptāṅga theory the Agni Purāṇa holds the state to be an organic whole composed of seven limbs. Like Kauṭilya it makes the king supreme at one place and suggests to protect him first and then the Rājya. But quoting the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka at another place it says that the Rāṣṭra is the best of all the limbs of the state. (Ag. P. 239.2) Nonetheless, it stresses the need of harmony among them. As the body cannot work efficiently even if one limb be defective, so it is recommended to repair the defects immediately and to destroy those who put an obstacle to, or revolt against, any of these limbs. (Ag. P. 225.12; 233.13) .

Neither the divine origin of kingship as discussed in the Śāntiparva of Mahābhārata and more clearly stated in the Manu Smṛti and the Matsya Purāṇa nor the contract theory as alluded to in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and discussed in early Buddhist literature like the Dighanikāya and the Mahāvastuavadāna is to be found in this Purāṇa. But, however, we find the divine aspect or nature of kingship. The Agni Purāṇa says that the Mantras of the king's coronation are the same as used on the occasion of the consecration of god and they are capable enough to destroy all sorts of sin. (Ag. P. 219.1) Gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha are asked to install the king, perhaps, to lend their respective divine elements to the king and preserve and lead him to glory. Similarly Hari and Brahmā consecrated Pṛthu and endowed him with sovereignty (Ag. P. 19.22). The king has been conceived to assume the form of nine dieties according to the nature of his functions. It has been explained that the king is like the Bhāskara (Sun) because it is difficult to gaze at him on account of his lustre. He is like Chandra (Moon) because he is an object of gratification to the people through his sight. He is Samira (Wind) because he sweeps the world with his spies. He is Manuvevasvata because he punishes crime and acts as Pāvaka (Fire) when he burns the evil-minded. He acts like Kubera (God of wealth) when he makes gifts to the Brāhmaṇas and is Varuna because he showers wealth. He is Pṛthvī as he sustains and as Hari he protects the people by exercising the powers of enthusiasm. This divine nature of kingship we find in Smṛtis like Manu, Nārada, Bṛhata Parāsara; in the Mārkaṇḍeya and Bṛhatadharma Purāṇas and in later literature like Vaiśampāyana Nītiprakāśikā. When the Agni Purāṇa calls the attributes of the king like sword, horse, elephant to belong to some divine origin (Ag. P. 269.28-29; 288-17) it is no wonder to find the king himself attributed with some divine aspects. But we do not find him exalted to the position of god or Viṣṇu himself as has been done in the Manu Smṛti. Manu says that even an infant king must not be despised because he is a mortal for he is a great deity in human form. The same verse has been borrowed, though without acknowledgement by the Nītiprakāśikā (8.5). Śukra, on the other hand, enjoins upon the people to salute the king as if he were an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Such clear statement exalting the king to the position of god is lacking in this Purāṇa, which like the Garuḍa Purāṇa (110.26) includes a land without a king in the list of places where one should not reside.

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* The Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series Edition of the Agni Purāṇa has been consulted.

The king being the pivot of whole administrative system and coronation being essential for regality the Agni Purāṇa discusses the coronation ceremony first. The coronation ceremony is important because only then the king is called 'Mūrdhābhiṣikta' or consecrated. On the whole the coronation ritual as found in the Agni Purāṇa follows the traditional pattern of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with the exception of oath (Political thoughts in the Purāṇas by J. L. Shastri, Lahore) while it reproduces and adds new rituals to the coronation as found in the epics (Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity—N. N. Law, p. 197). They are not so elaborate and clear as found in later literatures like the Nītimayūkha of Nīlkanṭha or the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa. Here, 'mantras' to be chanted on this particular occasion have been only hinted at but not fully discussed. It has to be supplemented or clarified by other works as suggested by Shri N. N. Law (Ibid. 198 n). These 'mantras' were perhaps the same as used in the Rājasūya ceremony. The term 'Rājaśriyābhiṣeke cha' as used in this present edition of the Agni Purāṇa (218.22) seems to be a wrong reading or variant of 'Rājasūyābhiṣeke cha' as found in the Nītimayūkha (Ed. M. G. Bakre & V. R. Lele, Bombay, p. 4) which makes the meaning clear.

For emphasizing the importance of this ceremony the Agni Purāṇa (274. 2-7) quotes, probably, an old tradition which says that through performing this particular Rājasūya the Moon god gained unrivalled power and lustre so much so that even gods like Nārāyaṇa, Bibhāvasu, Dhātāra, Prabhākara, Havismaṅta (Agni), Jayanta and Nandi found themselves incapable of doing any harm to him when he ravished or enjoyed their wedded wives.

On a full discussion of the coronation rituals we find two or three interesting points to note. Firstly, the consecration of the king is held after a year of the king's accession to the throne. Probably it was done to observe if there were any rivals to the throne or if the king was able to win the affection and loyalty of the people on which his land, riches, and even the whole kingdom rested ('Janānurāgaprabhavā rājño rājya mahīśriyah'—Ag. P. 225. 33). This is alluded to at another place where, before describing the seven elements of the state, the Agni Purāṇa recommends to the king to bring his servants and officers under control, to win over the affection of his subjects and then to subjugate his three types of enemies:

> "Tato bhṛtyajayaṁ kṛtvā paurajānapadaṁ jayet,
> Jayedbāhyānarinpaschādbāhyāscha trividhārayah."
>
> (Ag. P. 225. 8-9).

Secondly, the king before ascending the throne makes a declaration of protection to the people most probably against their five dangers counted at another place (Ag. P. 239. 46). So the protection of the people is obligatory on the king.

Thirdly, there is a general amnesty to prisoners to mark the accession to the throne by a new king. This practice is to be found in Kauṭilya and was actually followed by Aśoka.

But most important of them all, contrary to the Vedic and Smṛti traditions the Agni Purāṇa allows even Vaiśya and Śūdra to be represented in the coronation ceremony. Older Smṛtis like Manu and Yājñavalkya do not allow any political and military right to the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. But, probably, as the coming hordes of foreign invaders were merged in the Hindu Society, they swelled the population of the lower orders. Kauṭilya recognised their growing importance and allowed a force composed of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras because of their numerical strength. (Kauṭ. IX. 2). This liberalism is more apparent from the Gupta period onwards. The Śāntiparva which was probably redacted or re-edited finally in the Gupta period testifies to the appointment of Vaiśya and Śūdra as 'āmātyas' of the state but it does not allow them to be associated with the coronation rituals. On the other hand, the Agni Purāṇa not only allows the Vaiśya and Śūdra 'āmātyas' to be present during the coronation but their taking part in it has been made obligatory or essential. Like the 'āmātyas' of the two higher castes they are also to sprinkle over the king's head though with different materials. The same political right is to be seen in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa and the Nītimayūkha (pp. 4, 5, & 18) but here we find that this right has been extended even to persons of mixed castes born though of Anuloma marriage:

"Tatah Samīchīnā Viprāh Kśatriyāh Vaiśyāh Śūdrah anulomāścha ......" (Nītimayūkha, p. 18-19). They sprinkle water with others even at the end of the consecration ceremony. The Agni Purāṇa maintains this liberalism to the Vaiśyas and Śūdras in giving them military right also. It says that the Śūdras have right to fight in the battle, if they are themselves trained while people of mixed castes are to help the king during the time of war. (Ag. P. 249. 8; Cf. Śukra. II. 279-80). This trend of liberalism is corroborated by the Tippera Copper plate of Lokanātha (750 A.D. or 663-4 A.D.?) in which we find Keśava born of a Brāhmaṇa father and Śūdra mother—placed in charge of the army and being highly esteemed (History of Bengal, Ed. by Dr. Majumdar Vol. I p. 575).

As for the caste of the king nothing has been specificially laid down but it seems to favour Kśatriyas. The synonyms for the term 'Rājā' or king as offered by the Amarakoṣa are quoted. The king is called 'Mūrdhābhiṣikta', 'Kśatriya', 'Bāhuja', 'Virāṭa' and 'Rājanya'. The two terms 'Kśatriya and 'Bāhuja' deserve consideration. The terms 'Kśatriya' and 'Bāhuja' or one born of the arms of Brahmā i.e. Kśatriya clearly denotes that the king generally belongs to this caste. Not only this, even terms like 'Nṛpa' and 'Rājā' have been used for the Kśatriya caste. (Ag. P. 153. 6; 249. 56). Even in regard to the qualifications of the king, as with regard to his caste the view of this Purāṇa is nothing but traditional.

Like the Śāntiparva the Agni Purāṇa derives the word 'Rājā' from 'Rañja' or to please. (Ag. P. 220. 24; 225. 14) and says that Pṛthu became first such a king who toiled much for the pleasure and protection of the people. From an analysis of the king's duty as enumerated in the Agni Purāṇa it seems that the chief duty of the king is to protect the kingdom and his people. Other duties are only auxiliary to it. So much emphasis has been laid on building and equipping forts. This was essential from defence point of view in those days. Protection of the people means protection against five dangers viz. 1. soldiers, 2. thieves, 3. king's officers i.e. Subhagas or Pauras, 4. the royal favourites, and 5. greediness of the king himself. He is also to protect the 'Varṇāśrama' dharma. This may be compared to the view expressed in the Nītivākyāmṛta of Somadeva Sūri — 'How can he be a king who does not protect his subject?' and 'the protection of the subject is the king's Yajña.' (Bombay, Ed. p. 17; 105—'Prajāpālanaṁ hi rājño yajñah.'). On the other hand the Agni Purāṇa says that 'Yajña' and 'Tapasyā' do not count for the king whose subjects are not well protected and if they are well protected the royal palace will be like the heaven otherwise a hell for the king. (Ag. P. 223. 9-10). Through the protection offered to the people the king earns virtue otherwise he goes to hell. (Ag. P. 223. 11-12). So the king is asked to foresake all his pleasures for the sake of people just as a pregnant woman does for her embryo. (Cf. Nītiprakāśikā VIII. 2). This is just in keeping with the tradition laid down by Kauṭilya (I. 19) who says that in the happiness of his subjects lies king's happiness and in their welfare his welfare.

In this connection we see that the people are to be protected against 'Subhaga' or those who are fortunate and rich. They were perhaps high officers of the state as banishment accompanied with confiscation of property has been provided against defaulting and negligent officers. Sometimes, sufferers are to be paid even by the king from the salary of such officers. These exemplary and deterrent punishments must have acted as an effective check on the growing powers of the bureaucracy. Then the importance of the Kāyasthas are to be noted who are, like the Yājñavalkya Smṛti (I. 336-7) declared to be a potent danger as they eat away the people. They are, here, not to be taken as a caste or as 'usurers' as translated by Shri M. N. Dutt (Ag. P. Eng. Tr. Vol. II, p. 798). More probably scribe is meant by this term who copied or wrote royal writs in those days as making any alteration, omission or addition in these writs might have changed their very spirit. So punishment of highest immersement has been prescribed for this (Ag. P. 227. 63). Besides protection the king makes necessary arrangements for the livelihood of all like Parjanya or cloud.

The king is also to protect his kingdom from external enemies. Like Kauṭilya (X. 2) and Kāmandaka (Bombay, XVIII. 45) the Agni Purāṇa lays down that the king should be in the middle when in the battle field but strikingly enough on one occasion it says that the king should be two miles away from the scene of action. (Ag. P. 236. 33) and it is advised for him not to take part in the battle himself as his death will entail annihilation of the whole army. It is important that the king now actually did not participate in battle like Poros or Chandragupta Maurya but left it to be done under the supervision of his Commander-in-chief or even 'āmātyas' ('Āmātyen kṛte raṇe'—Ag. P. 236. 63)—a practice followed widely in the Gupta period. Connected with this duty of the king, he is to divide the spoils of war equally among his servants but the amount and extent of the king's share has not been indicated. The relatives of those of his soldiers killed in the battle-field are to be protected and the enemies who are captured in the battle-field are also to be looked after. However, the provision is not so liberal and wide as in Kauṭilya who says that 'sons and wives of those who die while on duty shall get subsistence and wages. Infant, aged persons or diseased persons related to the deceased servants, shall also be shown favour. On occasions of funerals, sickness or child-birth the king shall give presentations to his servants concerned,' (Arthaśāstra—Eng. Tr. Shamasastry, 1956, pp. 277-8). For all these exacting works the king should take care of his health. So taking regular exercises and appropriate medicines as suggested by the royal physician are elsewhere prescribed for him.

Besides these duties the king has some executive and judicial powers. He appoints high officers of the realm and presides over the court of justice. He is to give instructions to his spies and receive reports from them as they are called his other two eyes. Verification of these confidential reports is recommended as no undue reliance can be put on the reports of a single spy.

In ancient Hindu political treatises not only the duties of the king have been fixed; rather it has been a customary practice to lay down even the daily routine of the king. It is to be found in the Arthaśāstra (Book I. 19) and practically the same, in Manu (Ch. VII) and Yājñavalkya Smṛtis (I. 327-33) and in some of the Purāṇas as the Devī and the Bhāgavata. It is in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracharita also. Though no time table has been provided for each item of work still the Agni Purāṇa (Chap. 235) allots these following duties to the king's daily time table:—

1. Rising two 'muhūrtas' i.e. 48 minutes before day break.
2. Seeing and instructing his spies and hearing the reports of daily income and expenditure.
3. Daily ablutions coupled with gifts to Brāhmaṇas.
4. Self-decoration, consultation with astrologer and royal physician and receiving blessings of his elders and superiors.
5. Attendance at his court or Sabhā and receiving there Brāhmaṇas, Āmātyas, Mantrins and the Prakṛti or the people who are presented to him by the Pratīhāra.
6. Hearing daily reports of works and determining routine of business for the day.
7. Adjudication of civil suits.
8. Consultations with his ministers.
9. Practising gymnastics and physical exercises.
10. Bath and visit to temples, Brāhmaṇas and the sacrificial fire.
11. Meal, rest and study of Śāstras.
12. Inspection of treasury, army, armoury and stores.
13. Evening prayer.
14. Deputation of spies to various duties.
15. Supper and sleep amid songs and music.

After an analysis of the duties enumerated above we see that while the king, in the Arthaśāstra gets no leisure apart from government business, he is a late riser now. He does not now arise at 1-30 a.m. as suggested by Kauṭilya but only fortyeight minutes before day break. There is absence of consultation with the Senāpati. It seems that during this period the king was practically left with no such duty and his military obligations were shared by his high officers or feudal lords, which surely had an adverse effect. Now only those could see the king who were introduced or rather permitted by the Pratīhāra as against the noble principle of seeing all and at all times enunciated by Kauṭilya (I. 19. 30-2) and even followed by Aśoka (Rock Edict VI). This new practice must have removed the king from direct contact with his subjects and so with their affection. It indirectly refers to the rise of feudal system.

The Agni Purāṇa clearly testifies to the growth of powerful feudal lords who are called 'Adhīśvara', 'Maṇḍaleśvara' and 'Maṇḍalādhipati' as against 'Rāṣṭrādhikṛtas' and 'Rājyapālakas' who were perhaps provincial governors. The position of the Maṇḍalādhipati being exalted many aspired for being such and they resorted to Tāntric charms and 'mantras' (Ag. P. 211. 66) which were thought to be potent enough to do such miraculous things. Rise of feudalism, though in a lesser degree, can be traced in the Arthaśāstra. It grew as the central power decreased or became decentralised during the Gupta period. Even powerful rulers like Samudragupta recognised the local autonomy of the twelve tributary states of South India and these feudatories were one of the chief causes of the downfall of the Guptas as suggested by Shri H. C. Roychodhury. (Political History of Ancient India, 6th Ed. pp. 629-34). Even Hiuen Tsang witnessed that 'governors, ministers, magistrates and officials were allotted a piece of land, like medieval zāgirs, for their personal support and the soldiers were levied according to the requirements of the service and were publicly enrolled' (Travels of Hiouen Thsang, New Edition, 1958, vol. II, p. 142). The very term 'levy' means some compulsion; so it seems that soldiers were recruited as feudal levy by feudal lords during war as was done by the great Mansabdars during the Mughal rule. The granting of zāgirs must have helped the process. The status of these feudatories, probably, varied according to their relative strength in comparison with that of the paramount power (The Classical Age, Bombay, p. 345). This is clearly supported by the political history of later and post-Gupta period when many feudatory powers rose and established their own independent rule. Even the great Gurjara-Pratīhāras were a feudatory power first. Even

Pratīhāra and Pāla dynasties witnessed such feudal powers. Thus feudalism seems to be an established fact in this period. The Nītisāra of Kāmandaka which probably belongs to the first half of 8th century A.D. clearly defines the chief duties of these Sāmantas or feudal lords. The Agni Purāṇa quotes the same verse of the Nītisāra and points out their chief duties as follows:—

1. To protect and help the people.
2. To help the paramount sovereign in times of war.
3. To collect allies and auxiliaries, and
4. To distinguish friends from disguised enemies.

From their duties as described above it is quite clear that with the obligations to protect the people ('janatrānaṁ') and to help the king during war they must have enjoyed the right to maintain some kind of military and police force. They are not treated now as subordinates but as helpers and sometimes the paramount rulers personally installed his feudatory with regular ceremony (The Classical Age, Bombay, p. 30). We find the crystalization of this feudal system in the Śukranītisāra where sovereigns have been divided into eight grades according to their income from revenue (Śukranīti—Eng. Tr. B. K. Sarkar, pp. 36-37).

The influence of the Purohita and astrologers in particular and Brāhmaṇas in general, seems to be very conspicuous in the Agni Purāṇa. Leaving aside their prerogatives to be of special charge for the king we find them actively participating in the coronation ceremony and in the deliberations of the civil courts as expounders of Dharmaśāstras though in criminal courts Kśatriyas are to be found more prominent. ('Advaidha Kśatriya Prāyo', Ag. P. 239.33). The Agni Purāṇa quotes Manu (VII 135-37) and at one place the still older tradition that Soma is the king of the Brāhmaṇas probably to justify that Brāhmaṇas are neither to pay any taxes to the king nor to be given capital punishment. Moreover the king is required to ascertain the requirements and occupation of all the Brāhmaṇas residing in his territory and to provide decent livelihood to them. Perhaps, following the earlier example of great Harsha, the king is now asked by this Purāṇa to give away half of his daily income to the Brāhmaṇas (Ag. P. 223, 14) as they are potent enough to make or unmake even a god. ("Adaivaṁ daivataṁ kuryuh kuryurdaivamadaivatam"—Ag. P. 222.17). So it is quite clear that the

Brāhmaṇas were immune from taxation and death sentence and were a great drain on the state resources. Besides, they received gifts of land and villages from the public. It is interesting to note if at any time of Indian history so much was actually spent on one particular caste or class. In this connection one very interesting point to note is that the Agni Purāṇa knows Saṭṭaka as a form of drama—the earliest Saṭṭaka being the Karpūramanjarī and even the Kāvyamīmānsā—both written by the famous poet Rājasekhara who belonged to the reign of Mahendrapāla I (C.A.D. 893-907) of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty. The fact that the Gurjara-Pratīhāras were themselves Brāhmaṇas (The Age of Imperial Kanauj, Bombay, p. 19 and their empire extended upto Gayā in Bihār, where this Purāṇa was finally re-edited according to some scholars (JBBRAS, Centenary Memorial Volume, p. 73) may explain this undue emphasis attached to the Brāhmaṇas in general.

Secondly, the statement that Brāhmaṇas are powerful enough to make or unmake even gods probably refers to the decadent state of Buddhism and Jainism in this period and the part played in bringing it by Brāhmaṇa scholars and philosophers like Śaṅkarāchārya and Kumārilabhaṭṭa. It has been provided so that the king should always offer his respects to the Brāhmaṇas.

The other detrimental effect on the king's power was the influence of astrologers and Tāntricism which guided the king even while marching against his adversaries. No where, while discussing the polity in general, the Agni Purāṇa discusses the method of military training but undue emphasis has been laid on portents and omens and the knowledge of Yuddhajayārṇavīya Jyotiṣa and Saṁgrāmavijayavidyā, i.e., astrology and learning leading to victory in war. (Ag. P. Chapts. 124-128 & 133-135). This is nothing but a clear symptom of a decadent state. The neglect of military aspect coupled with the rise of powerful feudatories made the king or the Hindu State too weak and decentralised to resist Muslim invasion.

Role of Bahadur Nahir Mewatti in the Politics of the Later Tughlaq Period

BY

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The death of Firoz Tughlaq in 1388 A.D. was a signal for the virtual disintegration of the Tughlaq empire. The convulsions of Muhammad's reign, the military incapacity of Firoz, the ambitions and turbulence of the feudal aristocracy and the social degeneration of the Muslims led to intensify the prevailing confusion and to give ample opportunities to self-seekers and political adventurers for their selfish aggrandisement.

It was during these troublous times that Bahadur Nahir Mewatti—the reputed founder[1] of the ruling family of the Khanzadahs of Mewat began to play an important part in the imperial politics. Several factors facilitated the task of the Mewatti chief, and afforded him opportunities of interference in the state affairs of Delhi. Firstly, the proximity of Mewat to Delhi permitted the advantage of rapid movement and led to the[2] adoption from ancient times by the Mewattis of the policy of hit-and-run. Added to this was the benefit which nature had provided in the form of hilly terrain and deep jungles and which had for long been used as secure places of concealment for the fugitives flying from Delhi. Secondly, the political confusion that followed the death of Firoz Tughlaq and the recurring civil wars for the throne provided ideal opportunity to the Mewatti chief to play the part of a king-maker and often to hold the balance between the rival parties. Finally, his own warlike qualities[3] compelled him to come into the political field more often than not and made his support a coveted acquisition.

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[1] A Cunningham—*Archaeological Survey of India,* Vol. XX, p. 15.

[2] Hendley—*Ulwar and its Art Treasures,* Chapter III (1888)

[3] He is said to have received the title of Nahar or 'tiger' from Firoz Tughlaq because he had killled a tiger single-handed.

The first mention[4] of Bahadur Nahir in Persian works is to be found in Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi in which it is mentioned that immediately after his accession, Ghyiasuddin II—the new Sultan despatched Malik Firoz Ali the Sarjandar and Bahadur Nahir[5] with considerable force against Prince Muhammad Khan.[6] It appears that the Mewatti chief had already acquired a high position at the Tughlaq court, so much so, that in this assignment several 'amirs of the iqtas' such as Sultan Shah of Samana and Rai Matin were placed under his joint command with Malik Firoz Ali. In this task, Bahadur Nahir displayed great vigour and the imperial army compelled Prince Muhammad to take shelter in the fort of Nagarkot. But on account of having met considerable opposition in the way, Malik Firoz Ali decided to withdraw.[7]

From this time onwards[8] Bahadur Nahir became quite prominent. After the assassination of Tughlaq Shah II, the new King Abu Bakr relied greatly upon the support of the Mewatti chief. On his part, Bahadur openly joined the ranks of the new sultan, and remained loyal to him till his final discomfiture at the hands of Prince Muhammad.

Abu Bakr was however, not destined to rule for long, for soon Prince Muhammad, with the support of some Mughal chiefs, succeeded in mustering an army of 20,000 horse.[9] He now proceeded towards Delhi, and with a strength of 50,000, he captured the palace of Jahan-numah.[10] Abu Bakr, who was in the other quarter of the city now prepared to give battle. On the very day when the two armies were engaged in the streets of Firozabad, Bahadur Nahir[11] arrived with a strong reinforcement and Yahya[12] writes that his arrival considerably lifted-up the morale of Abu Bakr. Next morning the Sultan together with the Mewatti chief and the household slaves of Firoz Tughlaq marched out, and defeated Muhammad 'with great slaughter'[13] and compelled him to quit Delhi with only 2000 horse.[14] For a time the victory at Firozabad was decisive; it prolonged, if not made permanent, the continuance of Abu Bakr's rule. There is indeed no doubt, that Bahadur Nahir had substantially contributed to the achievement of this victory.

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[4] Cunningham wrongly says that Bahadur's first appearance was in 1389 A.D. when he captured Firozabad. Earlier than this, he had accompanied the imperial army in pursuit of Prince Muhammad Khan—another claimant to the throne of Hindusthan.

[5] Firishta writes Mohammad Tahir which is clearly incorrect—Briggs. Trans., p. 466.

[6] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*—Basu Trans., p. 149.

[7] Dow, however, writes that the cause of the withdrawal was the impregnability of the fort of Nagarkot—*History of Hindustan*, Vol. I, p. 377.

[8] Sept., Oct. 1388 A.D.—*Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, Tr. Basu, p. 150.

[9] *Firishta*—Briggs Trans., Vol. I, p. 470.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 471. *Tarikh-i-Mubarkshahi* (Basu Tr.), p. 154.

But having reorganised the forces, once again Muhammad sent his son Humayun against Abu Bakr. Humayun fared no better than his father, being defeated at Panipat, and obliged to retreat towards Samana. But Abu Bakr's days were coming to an end. He was from the very beginning suspicious that a faction at his court led by Islam Khan was secretly in league with Muhammad.[15] Now this group opened secret correspondence with Muhammad. "At length, when this fact became known, Abu Bakr Shah was utterly dumbfounded, so he left Delhi (and).....proceeded to the Kotlah of Bahadur Nahir."[16] By this foolish and unwarranted action, Abu Bakr not only lost his throne for all times, but also brought trouble upon his friend—the Mewatti chief. For immediately after crowning himself as Sultan, Muhammad sent a strong army under his son Prince Humayun and the Vizier Islam Khan into Mewat. They appear to have reached Kotala in Dec.-

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[11] Badaoni writes 'Bahadur Nahir Khanzada of Miwat' (Persian Text), Vol. I, p. 259.

[12] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi,* Basu Tr., p. 154.

[13] *Firishta*—Briggs. Trans. Vol. I, p. 471.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Firishta*—Briggs Trans., Vol. I, p. 472. Yahya writes, "several slaves of Firoz Shah, without any reason, turned against Abu Bakr Shah......". *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* (Basu Tr.), p. 157.

[16] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*—(Basu Tr.), p. 157. Kotla Bahadur Nahir, now in the Gurgaon Distt. of Punjab, was the Capital of the Mewatti chief. It is now only a small village of about a hundred houses. See Cunningham—Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XX, p. 129. Elliot—Vol. IV, p. 24 footnote on p. 344, confuses it with Hardwar which is fantastic. Hendley is right when he calls it the name of a place, Ch. III.

Jany., 1390-91, where they fixed up their camps and prepared to give battle. Bahadur, true to his name 'attempted to surprise'[17] the imperial camp, and succeeded in killing several men, but due to the exertions of Islam Khan, he was defeated and obliged to submit. When the news of this victory reached the Sultan, he himself "started off for the scene of the conflict, and arriving at the Kotlah, he encamped on the banks of Dahand."[18] Both Abu Bakr and the Mewatti chief, now sought for quarter and came to meet the Sultan. Abu Bakr was made a prisoner and carried away to Delhi, but Bahadur Nahir was pardoned and was awarded "a robe of honour and was sent back".[19] Muhammad Shah indeed acted wisely, for now he considered it more prudent to convert an erstwhile enemy into a lasting friend. Thus failed Bahadur's efforts to play the part of a King-maker and he was obliged to beat a retreat to his own estate.

It appeared that the activities of the rebellious Mewatti chief had come to an end, but it was in fact only a temporary eclipse. He had not forgotten his defeat and disgrace and though Abu Bakr was no longer in the field, Bahadur now decided to take the gauntlet single-handed. Peace was therefore, still far away.

After sometime, towards the middle of 1393 A.D., intelligence reached the Sultan that Bahadur Nahir was active again and that he had attacked and plundered several villages "in the vicinity of Delhi".[20] It was indeed a formidable rebellion, as it was from a capable though irresponsible general. Notwithstanding his illness, Muhammad hastened to Mewat in a palanquin.[21] "Bahadur Nahir emerged out of the Kotlah and opposed him. At length, being defeated at the first onset he took refuge in the Kotlah. The royal forces marched in his pursuit and imprisoned many people of the Kotlah, and put to plunder their horses, arms and baggage."[22] The defeat of Bahadur was complete, there was no alternative left for him but to run and seek shelter in the mountains of Jhirka.[23] The victorious Sultan turned back.

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[17] *Firishta*—Briggs, Vol. I, p. 374 Dow Vol. I, p. 383 however writes that Bahadur Nahir merely advised Abu Bakr to surprise Humayun.

[18] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 159. (Basu Tr.). On the east of the Kotla was a large lake called Dahand or Dahar. See Cunningham—A.S. I.XX, p. 16. In place of Kotla, Firishta writes Mewat, p. 474.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

[20] Firishta writes "the country to the gates of Delhy....", p. 476. Dow, p. 385, gives an impression that Bahadur was the head of rebels.

[21] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, Basu Tr., p. 162.

[22] *Ibid.*

When Sultan Muhammad died in January, 1394 A.D., he left behind him an empire which was torn by civil strife and was in a complete state of turmoil. Already a number of chiefs and Zamindars had begun to exercise 'de facto' sovereignty within their territorial limits. At the Capital, the new Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud had to face the opposition of a party of nobles who put forward Nusrat Khan at Firozabad as a rival claimant for the throne of Hindustan. Thus there were two Sultans—one at Delhi and another at Firozabad—each claiming the throne for himself. At length there ensued conflict, and fighting began to take place almost every day.

In such an atmosphere, Bahadur could not remain merely a passive spectator, unaffected by the infection of party-politics. He had already managed through Mukarrab Khan to re-enter into royal favour. He was called from his Kotlah and was placed in charge of the fortress of old Delhi.[24]

This state of affairs continued till the close of 1397 A.D., when came the news that the army of Timur under his grandson Pir Muhammad had crossed the Indus. This news brought the party conflict at Delhi to a head. Mallu Iqbal, one of the leading nobles now became active and began to dominate the political show at the Capital. Realizing that Mukarrab Khan was the greatest obstacle in the establishment of his influence at the Imperial Court, he one day got Mukarrab murdered at the latter's residence. While the death of Mukarrab meant the loss of an able adviser to the Sultan, to Bahadur it was almost a personal loss, because Mukarrab had for a long time past been his friend and supporter. So with the murder of Mukarrab, the position of Bahadur at the Imperial Court became rather weak. Moreover, it became difficult for him henceforth, to face Mallu Iqbal alone.

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[23] Yahya writes 'mountain of Jahar', p. 162. Firishta is correct when he writes 'Jhirka', p. 476. Jhirka or Firozpur Jhirka is a fortified town—75 miles to the South of Delhi. See Cunningham—*A.S.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 127.

[24] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*—Basu Tr., p. 165. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*—(Persian Text), Vol. I, p. 266. Firishta, however, makes an astonishing remark that though Bahadur Nahir and Mallu Iqbal Khan had occupied the old fort of Siri, they remained neutral in this conflict and "were prepared to join either party according to circumstances". Tr. Briggs, p. 481. But *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* is more reliable—being almost contemporary.

When Timur had occupied Delhi at the close of 1397 A.D., Bahadur withdrew to his Kotla and from there watched the developments at Delhi. Though he could not do anything to stem the tide of foreign invasion, yet by providing shelter to the fugitives from Delhi, he contributed his share of loyalty towards his country. Mewat became a home for refugees and several important nobles like Khizr Khan Syed—the future Sultan of Hindustan, Mubarak Khan, Zirak Khan and others took shelter there in fear of the invader.[25] After some time however, Bahadur Nahir came down and paid his obeisance to the invader.[26] He was not only honoured with an interview, but all courtesy was shown to him. The present of two white parrots which the Mewatti chief had given to Timur was highly admired by him.

After the departure of Timur, widespread anarchy again prevailed in Hindustan. The political situation remained in turmoil on account of the renewed intrigues amongst the nobles. But we do not find any further reference to the activities of the Mewatti

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[25] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* (Basu Tr.), p. 172-73.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 173. The circumstances in which the Mewatti Chief came to meet the invader have been variously described. Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi says that a few days after the conquest of Delhi by Timur, Bahadur Nahir and other nobles including Khizr Khan "were honoured with an interview, but save Khizr Khan, all were chained". Badaoni agrees with this, and says that orders were issued to make the Mewatti Chief a prisoner.

On the other hand, in Malfuzat-i-Timuri, it is mentioned that Bahadur Nahir had come down in response to an embassy which Timur had sent to him at his Kotla. This embassy was successful in its mission and Bahadur not only sent him tribute with a letter of submission, but the next day he himself arrived with his eldest son and 'brought rare and suitable presents'. He was received with due courtesy and was honoured. Yazdi and Firishta also confirm this statement. There is a mosque at Kotla, on the gateway of which there is an inscription which tells us that Bahadur Nahir was 'involved' in the Mughal invasion. There is little doubt that an embassy was sent, though it is difficult to ascertain the underlying motives. See *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi,* p. 173; *Al-Badaoni-*(Persian Text), Vol. I, p. 271; Malfuzat-i-Timuri Elliot Vol. III, p. 449; *Zafarnama*—Elliot, Vol. III, p. 505; *Firishta,* p. 495; Cunningham—*A.S.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 132.

Chief after 1400 A.D.[27] It is very likely that he was dead now. Thus was removed from the scene one of the most prominent figures in Delhi history for about a dozen years just before and after the invasion of Timur. Bahadur had successively played the role of a king-maker, an arbiter in the game of politics and a dignified onlooker of events at Delhi. Though not always successful in his designs, he yet kept to a considerable degree the Sultans of the later Tughlaq period dependent for their welfare, sometimes even for their existence upon his goodwill. In itself indeed, it was not an inconsiderable achievement.

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[27] The date of the death of Bahadur Nahir cannot be ascertained from any Persian Chronicle. Firishta, p. 498, writes about one Mubarak—son of Bahadur Nahir Mewatti whom Mallu Iqbal had won over to his party in December 1400. Bahadur Nahir was probably dead by this time. Cunningham also agrees with this view—see Cunningham—*A.S.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 17.

Administration of the Last Rajah of Satara

BY

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The administrative talents of His Highness Shreemunt Maharaj Shahjee Rajey Chattrapati, the last Rajah of Sātara, are unknown to most of the students of Indian History. British historians have not taken pains to throw light on the administrative machinery which was run by the Rajah in his small state. British historians believe that the condition of Satara was rotten to the core and that Lord Dalhousie saved its people from maladministration by bringing the state under the Company's control. When Lord Dalhousie, the imperialist, came to India, he declared that the Indian territories were not to be governed for the profit of the princes, but for the benefit of the people. Therefore, English historians have always hailed Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation by saying that Dalhousie was a doctrinaire who annexed the kingdoms of the Maharajas, Rajahs and Nawabs for giving good government to the much oppressed people. So on the pretext of giving good government to the people Lord Dalhousie annexed Indian states like Satara, Awadh, Carnatic, etc.

Lord Dalhousie's contention that the government of Satara was rotten to the core was false and baseless. In the forties of the nineteenth century, Satara was a well governed state and its subjects happy under the reign of the ruling Chattrapati. After the death of the Chattrapati on 5th April, 1848, when the news of the annexation of the state by the Company came, there spread dark clouds all over the state. "The general feeling manifested by the subjects as well as servants of the late Raja has been universally one of deep despondency. This was to have been expected from the character of His late Highness, rule and the general prosperity enjoyed under it, 'all classes appear to feel they have much to lose and little to gain by any change."[1]

The last Rajah of Satara was generous and forgiving. He had granted redress in cases in which it has been refused by his predecessors.[2]

The Rajah abolished the system of suttee. In the state, Suttee had become very common during the latter years of his predecessor's administration. Even British subjects were permitted to come to Satara for the purpose of performing the rite, because performance of Suttee had been declared illegal by the Act of 1829 in the British Empire in India. The Resident at Satara had always strongly objected, but in vain. In two months three women became Suttee and it usually took place at night, so as to give it the cover of darkness. During that time Suttee could not be stopped at Satara. On his accession Maharaj Shajee Rajey abolished Suttee by proclamation. Once he personally and effectively interferred to dissuade one woman who was anxious to immolate herself.[3] The Rajah's pious efforts to co-operate with the British in putting an end to the abnoxious system of Suttee was appreciated by the servants of the Company. He was informed by the President that the measure would be "hailed with satisfaction by every friend of humanity and his spontaneous act reflects the highest credit on him and afforded an example which it was hoped would be followed by other native chiefs under his presidency.[4]

This kind Rajah had also abolished slavery[5] from his state and thus proved himself a benefactor of humanity, lover of freedom and a philanthropist.

Maharaj Shahjee Rajey, like every liberal ruler, believed in giving education to his subjects and so he opened a school at Satara.

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[1] Foreign Department, Political consultation, Nos. 15-23, 4th August, 1849, p. 6.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 28, 8th July, 1848, p. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

This generous Rajah established a free hospital and dispensary for the pauper and the sick and made arrangements for promoting vaccination and giving medical aid to his subjects.[6] The establishment of a free hospital elicited strong expressions of the approbation of the Government of Bombay, the Governor-General and the court of Directors. The efficiency with which it has been kept and its operations extended had been since repeatedly noticed as worthy of high commendation.[7] The Rajah's act of establishing a free hospital in that period was extremely praiseworthy, as most of his counter parts, then, spent public money in pursuit of pleasure and ignoble ends.

He abolished transit duties and introduced the Company's rupee as the standard currency of his dominions.[8] Consequently trade and commerce flourished and an allround development took place in the state of Satara.

Valuable public works were executed during the reign of Shahjee Rajey, the Chattrapati. Roads, bridges and buildings etc., were constructed.[9] The Government of Bombay truly said that in his public works, His Highness had set a noble example to the native chiefs of India. He was subsequently informed that the Hon'ble Court of Directors considered that these works reflected great honour on his administration. A pair of field pieces were presented to him by the Company's Government with the concurrence of the Governor-General, as a mark of the general approbation of Government at the mode in which he had conducted the administration, but especially of his liberality with regard to useful public works. The guns were forwarded with a letter to the Rajah from the Government of Bombay expressive of these sentiments.[10] In a memorandum, His Highness' widow gave a statement of sums expended by His Highness during his reign on the works of public utility.[11]

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

(a) Bridges including two very large ones on the Poona Road over the rivers Chrishna and Yemna ..	Rs.	1,97,727
(b) Roads ..	,,	11,690
(c) Aqueducts and tanks in the city of Satara and elsewhere for supplying water ..	,,	1,96,865
(d) Free hospitals ..	,,	6,000
(e) Palace Durbar Rooms ..	,,	5,75,867
(f) Barracks for His Highness' Regular Regiments and stables for the drilled Risalla of Horse Parade, Bungalows and other military buildings ..	,,	74,486
(g) Bungalows for European travellers ..	,,	9,000
(h) Temples ..	,,	5,661
Total ..	,,	10,77,296

Among these the two bridges over Yemna and Chrishna are the handsomest stone bridges in the Deccan. Frere, the Commissioner of Satara in 1848 declared that the aqueduct is the finest work of its kind and the same might be said of the Durbar rooms and other buildings.

The Rajah brought about reform of his troops and made his army well disciplined. He always rendered military assistance to the Company whenever the latter needed it. The late Rajah of Satara gave military aid to the Company during the campaign in the Kolhapur region.[12] He also offered to place his army at the disposal of the British Government during the period of the disaster in Afghanistan. On His Highness' offering to place his military resources at the disposal of the British Government after hearing of the Kabul disaster (1841), he was informed that this proof of his devotion to the British Government was highly praiseworthy and very gratifying to the Governor-General-in-Council.[13]

The Chattrapati not only maintained an efficient and well organised administrative machinery, but he also succeeded in maintaining peace and order in his realm, which was practically missing in the Kingdoms of most of the Indian Rajahs and Nawabs during that era. The Rajah arrested the notorious offenders of his territory and successfully suppressed insurrections. Even when rebellions broke out in the neighbouring countries like Kolhapur[14] the Rajah not only maintained perfect peace in his counrty but even assisted the British Government in putting down insurrections and in arresting its leaders whenever they took refuge in his territory. He helped the Company's Government by sending a detachment of troops in keeping open the communications and in forwarding supplies to the Company's army which was constantly separated till field forces were withdrawn.

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-7.

All the above mentioned humanitarian activities prove beyond doubt that the last Rajah of Satara was not a burden to his subjects. On the contrary he knew his duties and performed them with great satisfaction. At the time when most of the Oriental rulers had sunk to the lowest level and whose only vocation was pursuit of vain sensual pleasures, the achievements of Shahjee Rajey, the last Rajah of Satara were unparallelled. His loyalty to the East India Company was also unquestionable. Such an efficient and generous ruler was bound to be popular, whose death was mourned not only by his subjects, but even by the servants of the Company who had come close to him. On 13th April 1848 in a letter to the Resident of Satara, Mr. Malet, the Chief Secretary of the Bombay Government wrote that His Highness the Rajah was a good and a philanthropic ruler and deserved all considerations from the Company, the dominant power in India.[15] The British Government was aware of the efficient and mild rule which was exercised by his Highness the Rajah, over his subjects. The administrative talents of Shahjee Rajey, the Chattrapati add a glorious chapter in his short reign of eight and a half years and make him dear to the students of Modern Indian History.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[15] *Ibid.*, 13th April, 1848, No. 1502, p. 54.

The Letters of Shah Navaz Khan, Chief Minister of the Deccan (1753-1757)

BY

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Going through the catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the Library of the Bombay University, I came across a manuscript containing copies of the letters written by Shah Navaz Khan, the author of the well-known work—"*Masir-ul-Umara*"—. The manuscript contains in all 160 letters. The letters seem to have been copied by someone in 1861 and came into the possession of the Bombay University in that condition. The owner of this book seems to be one Shah Asadulla and the date on the last page of the book corresponds to 1869 A.D. It appears that the aim in compiling this collection was to study the style of Shah Navaz Khan's letters rather than the contents of the incidents which took place in the Deccan during this time. The letters have not been arranged chronologically. For example, a letter which might have been written in 1757 appears in the early part of the manuscript while a letter of 1750 A.D. is found in the latter portion. But, judging from the contents of the manuscript there is no doubt, that these letters were from the pen of Shah Navaz Khan and whoever the copiest may have been, it can be said that he has copied from the originals. As Gulam Ali Azazd Bilgrami, a noted scholar and friend of Shah Navaz Khan, has stated in his preface to the Masir-Ul-Umara, Shah Navaz Khan had a charming literary style. As noted above, this seems to be the reason why these letters were studied widely and copied for the purpose of study. While the majority of letters deal with incidents which have no bearing on history, still some of the letters will be found valuable to the students of Deccan History. It is proposed to examine some of these letters in the following pages. A brief account of Shah Navaz Khan's career will not be out of place here.

Mir Abdul Razak, better known by his title Shah Navaz Khan was born at Lahore on the 9th of March 1700 A.D. He came from a distinguished family which had served the Moghul Empire since the time of Akbar. His grandfather, Kazim Khan, held the posts of Diwan at Multan and Lahore. Shah Navaz Khan's father, Mir Hasan Ali, died at the age of 19. Shah Navaz Khan was his posthumous child. Shah Navaz Khan stayed at Lahore' till the year 1715 A.D. when he left for the Deccan where he stayed with his relatives. The brothers of his grand-father Kazim Khan, Abdul Qadir Dianat Khan and Mir Hussen Amanat Khan held high posts in the Deccan for a long time. The third brother Mir Abdul Rahman Wazarat Khan was also for some time Diwan of Bijapur. Since they were long settled in Deccan and had their abode in the locality of Qutbpura in the city of Aurangabad, Shah Navaz Khan too settled n Aurangabad. During this period, the son of Mir Abdul Qadir Dianat Khan, Ali Naqi Dianat Khan and the latter's sons, Mirak Mohammed Taqi and Mir Mohmed Hussen Khan held important posts under the Governors of the Deccan. The latter one, Mir Mohammed Hussen Khan received the title of Yaminuddaulah Mansurjang and was serving as the Governor of the Province of Hyderabad when he was murdered along with Shah Navaz Khan on the 11th of May 1758. It was due to his relatives that Shah Navaz Khan received an appointment on the establishment of Nizam-Ul-Mulk. In 1732 he was appointed Diwan to the Subedar of Berar. He continued in that post till 1740 A.D. When Nizam-Ul-Mulk was in the North from 1737 to 1740, Nasir Jang the son of Nizam-Ul-Mulk who deputed for his father in the Deccan, rose in rebellion against his father. Shah Navaz Khan was in the confidence of Nasir Jung and as he was implicated in the rebellion, he incurred the displeasure of Nizam-Ul-Mulk and was deprived of his post in 1741 A.D. For nerly 6 years Shah Navaz Khan lived in retirement in Aurangabad and employed this period in writing the celebrated work Masir-Ul-Umara. At last Nizam-Ul-Mulk recalled him in 1747 and appointed him again as Diwan of Berar. Soon after, Nizam-Ul-Mulk died in 1748 and Nasir Jung succeeded his father as the Nizam. Shah Navaz Khan was now appointed Chief Minister of the Nizam. He accompanied Nasir Jung in his campaign, against Muzaffer Jung, and was present when Nasir Jung was assassinated on the 16th of December 1750 A.D. Soon after, Ram Das became the Diwan of Muzaffer Jung. Muzaffer Jung however was also killed on 14th February 1751. The French, with whose help this revolution had been brought about, now proclaimed Salabat Jung, the younger brother of Nasir Jung as Nizam and accompanied him to the Deccan. Shah Navaz Khan was with the Nizam's army until its arrival at Karnool when he separated and accompanied by his friend Gulam Ali Azad Bilgrami returned to Aurangabad.

When Ram Das *alias* Raghu Nath Das, the Diwan of the Nizam, assisted by the French made a war on the Marathas in November 1751, Shah Navaz Khan held aloof from the Nizam's court. He had no concern with the affairs of the Nizam until the murder of Raghu Nath Das at Bhalki on the 30th of April 1752. As at that time Shah Navaz Khan and Syed Lashkar Khan were the two leading persons in the Deccan, the Nizam decided to summon both. Accordingly both of them went on the 12th of May, 1753, to Hyderabad. While Syed Lashkar Khan was appointed the Chief Minister of the Nizam, Shah Navaz Khan was made the Governor of the Province of Hyderabad.

Soon after, news was received that Gaziuddin Firoz Jung, the eldest son of Nizam-Ul-Mulk, had obtained orders of his appointment as Nizam and was proceeding to the South, assisted by a Maratha army. This news created consternation in the Court of Salabat Jung. The Chief Minister, Syed Lashkar Khan took leave of the Nizam and went to the Marathas, ostensibly to secure their help against Gaziuddin but in reality to seek service with Gaziuddin through the help of the Peshwa Nana Saheb. During the absence of Syed Lashkar Khan, Shah Navaz Khan became the Principal Advisor to Salabat Jung. The Marathas had, in the meanwhile, acquired the province of Khandesh from Gaziuddin as a price of their assistance when the sudden and unexpected death of the latter at Aurangabad on the 16th of October 1752 forced the Marathas to demand of Salabat Jung confirmation of the treaty made by them with Gaziuddin about the transfer of the province of Khandesh to them. When the Marathas surrounded the army of the Nizam at Bhalki, Shah Navaz Khan was with the Nizam. As will be seen from the letters, Shah Navaz Khan was not willing to part with this valuable territory. His plan seems to have been to march towards Ausa, join hands with Syed Lashkar Khan and extract a more favourable treaty from the Marathas. He was not, however, unaware of the dual role which Syed Lashkar Khan was playing in this episode. Shah Navaz Khan's advice seemed to have been over-ruled and a treaty was made by the Nizam at Bhalki on the 24th of November 1752 with the Marathas by which the Nizam ceded the Province of Khandesh and the districts of Jalna and Sangamner to the Marathas. Syed Lashkar Khan soon returned to the Nizam. There was bitter rivalry between Shah Navaz Khan and Syed Lashkar Khan, with the result that Shah Navaz Khan resigned his post of the Governorship of the Province of Hyderabad and retired into private life at Aurangabad. He was not long to remain in retirement. The influence of the French was now supreme in the Court of Hyderabad. Syed Lashkar Khan was chaffing under the restrictions imposed by the military strength of the French. Very soon differences arose between Syed Lashkar Khan and the French with the result that the former resigned from the post of the Diwanship and took up the charge of the Province of Berar as Governor. Shah Navaz Khan was persuaded to accept the post of the Diwan on the 11th of December 1753. He was given the title of Samsamuddaulah.

The policy of Shah Navaz Khan seems to have been on the whole friendly to the Peshwa. Soon after he assumed charge of his office, he entered into friendly negotiations with Nanasaheb Peshwa. It was with the latter's consent as borne out by the contemporary work Rahat Afza, that Shah Navaz Khan marched against Raghuji Bhosla in the month of February 1754. It would also appear that Raghuji Bhosla received very mild terms, probably due to the wishes of Nanasaheb Peshwa who wanted Raghuji to be punished but not too severely for the dubious role which he had played in the Nizam-Maratha conflict of 1752. In the following two years the Nizam and the Marathas cooperated with each other in the campaigns of the South. They succeeded in securing considerable amount as tribute from Mysore in 1755. In 1756 Shah Navaz Khan assisted the Peshwa in the latter's campaign against Savnur. He had thus created considerable influence for the Nizam in the affairs of the Deccan. He now thought that it would be possible to remove the French influence from the Nizam's court. He secured the release of the younger brothers of the Nizam Salabat Jung. It was mainly due to these efforts that Nizam Ali Khan, the younger brother of Salabat Jung was appointed Governor of Berar and Basalat Jung, another brother of the Nizam was made the Governor of the Province of Bijapur. He seems to have taken this step in consultation with, if not on the advice of Nanasaheb Peshwa. The next step Shah Navaz Khan took was to dismiss the French from the services of the Nizam after the Savnur campaign came to an end. In this extraordinary step it is not clear whether Shah Navaz Khan was acting on his own initiative or was advised by the Marathas. His calculation that the French would leave the Deccan peacefully turned out to be wrong. The French on their way back took possession of the city of Hyderabad. All the efforts of the Nizam and Shah Navaz Khan to dislodge them failed with the result that the Nizam and Shah Navaz Khan had to agree to the humiliating circumstances of reinstating the French in the service of the Nizam (1756). The relations of the French with Shah Navaz Khan, although apparently friendly, would, henceforward, never be the same as they were before. The influence of Bussy and his agent Hyder Jung was now supreme in the affairs of the Nizam. At this stage Shah Navaz Khan came to Aurangabad. As is apparent from the work *Rahat Afza* he took possession of the Fort of Daulatabad for the purpose of his and his family's security in future contingencies. The Nizam Salabat Jung also camped in Aurangabad in 1757. His younger brother Basalat Jung who was the Governor of Bijapur also joined him. It was at this stage that a rupture took place between Shah Navaz Khan and Nizam's army on account of arrears of pay. Shah Navaz Khan refused to meet the demands of the army for the full payment of their dues although, as Gaulamali Azad Bilgrami states, he was in a position to meet the demand of the army. Instead, Shah Navaz Khan resisted the attack of the army and taking his family and his belongings went to the Fort of Daulatabad. The army then carried Basalat Jung to the Nizam and persuaded him to dismiss Shah Navaz Khan and to appoint Basalat Jung as Diwan in his place. The author Gulamali Azad Bilgrami is not in a position to say why Shah Navaz Khan did not pay off the army and why he on the other hand left for Daulatabad. From the French source it would appear that Shah Navaz Khan was contemplating the removal of Salabat Jung and the appointment in his place of Basalat Jung as the Nizam. It is also suggested that the Peshwa was supporting Shah Navaz Khan in his conspiracy. Even if this were true it is not clear how Shah Navaz Khan could gain his object by suddenly departing for the fort of Daulatabad.

The Nizam's army attacked Daulatabad and tried to capture it. At this stage, as we know from the *Rahat Afza*, Shah Navaz Khan took the extraordinary step of inviting the Marathas to invade the territory of the Nizam. He transferred Rs. 30 lakhs to the Peshwa for this purpose. The Maratha army accordingly advanced towards Aurangabad led by Vishwasarao Peshwa, Dattaji Shinde and Jankoji Shinde. The French under Bussy and Hyder Jung were at this stage away in the East. The Nizam, Salabat Jung, in panic, called upon his brother Nizam Ali Khan who was the Governor of Berar to rush to his assistance. He accordingly reached Aurangabad with an efficient army and a park of artillery under Ibrahim Khan Gardi. Meanwhile as Nanasaheb Peshwa had made a further demand on Shah Navaz Khan that the latter should hand over the fort of Daulatabad to the Marathas, Shah Navaz Khan was feeling very sore. At this stage Nizam Ali Khan persuaded Shah Navaz Khan to join him. Shah Navaz Khan accordingly joined Nizam Ali Khan. He was reinstated as the Diwan in November 1757. He was, however, without effective power, which was wielded by Nizazm Ali Khan. Shah Navaz Khan was present with Nizam Ali Khan in the campaign of Sindhed against the Marathas. While a treaty with the Marathas stipulating the cession of a territory yielding Rs. 27 lakhs per annum was concluded with the Marathas, the French General Bussy accompanied by his agent Hyder Jung appeared on the scene.

After the Marathas had departed the Nizam and his brothers took counsel and came to the conclusion that Shah Navaz Khan was responsible for the disaster which the Marathas had brought on the Nizam. It was accordingly decided by them to arrest Shah Navaz Khan and keep him under detention. This task was entrusted to the French who readily agreed. The Fort of Daulatabad was taken away from Shah Navaz Khan who was arrested and kept under detention by the French. This came as a shock to Shah Navaz Khan who concluded that this detention must have been due to the machinations of Nizam Ali Khan. He, therefore, decided to cooperate with the French agent Hyder Jung in rendering Nizam Ali Khan helpless. Hyder Jung was aspiring to become the dictator of Hyderabad. He looked upon Nizam Ali Khan as the most ambitious and dangerous of the Nizam's brothers. He, therefore proceeded to bring down the power of Nizam Ali Khan by seducing Nizam Ali Khan's troops from their loyalty to their master. After this, he procured from Salabat Jung an order appointing Nizam Ali Khan as the Governor of the province of Hyderabad, by transferring him from Berar of which Nizam Ali Khan was the Governor. It was decided that Hyder Jung was to accompany Nizam Ali Khan to Hyderabad. It was rumoured that after reaching Hyderabad, Nizam Ali Khan was to be put in detention in the

Fort of Golkonda. The way would thus be paved for the assumption of real power by Hyder Jung. In all these proceedings of Hyder Jung, Shah Navaz Khan was a willing accomplice.

Nizam Ali Khan now saw that the net was thus being tightened upon him. If he waited for some time more he would be imprisoned for life in the Fort of Golkonda. He, therefore, made a desperate attempt to free himself from the clutches of Hyder Jung. A conspiracy was hatched to murder Hyder Jung. On the 11th of May 1758 Hyder Jung was invited to the tent of Nizam Ali Khan where he was murdered in cold blood by the companions of Nizam Ali Khan. In the commotion which resulted Niazm Ali Khan fled from Aurangabad towards Burhanpur. The French were wild with rage. They concluded that the murder of Hyder Jung was a result of the conspiracy of Salabat Jung and his two brothers Basalat Jung and Nizam Ali Khan. Before they proceeded to take any action against Salabat Jung and Basalat Jung, the latter hurried to the French camp and explained to them that the root cause of the trouble was Shah Navaz Khan due to whose machination the murder of Hyder Jung had taken place. Without pausing to enquire into the truth or otherwise of the statement, Laxman, an officer of the French, entered the camp of Shah Navaz Khan and shot him dead. The latter's son Mir Abdul Wali was also killed at the time. Mohammed Hussen Khan Yaminuddowlah Mansur Jung, a cousin of Shah Navaz Khan and the Governor of the province of Hyderabad was also among those who were killed on that day (11th May 1758).

Thus ended the career of Shah Navaz Khan, a scholar and politican. Of his claim to scholarship the work—"Masir-Ul-Umara—is a lasting proof. It cannot, however, be said that Shah Navaz Khan proved a successful politician. He was associated with Nasir Jung in the latter's rebellion against his father Nizam-Ul-Mulk. As he was one of the trusted counsellors of Nasir Jung, he cannot escape the charge of instigating Nasir Jung to rebel against his father. As Diwan of Nasir Jung, when the latter became the Niam, he accompanied Nasir Jung in his campaign towards Pondicherry. In the affairs which led to the assassination of Nasir Jung, Shah Navaz Khan does not seem to have played an active role on behalf of Nasir Jung. The contemporary account. "*Tarikh-E-Rahat Afza*"—was written by Mohammed Ali in 1760 A.D. Mohammed Ali's Patron Najaf Ali Khan was present in the camp of Nasir Jung when the latter was assassinated. It is recorded in this work that when Nasir Jung was killed, Shah Navaz Khan got down from his elephant and wanted to go in hiding. He was accosted by a few officers of Nasir Jung and asked to fight against the enemy. Shah Navaz Khan told them to collect some more people while he would be waiting at the place with 5 or 6 horsemen. He remained waiting without actively exerting himself. In the meanwhile the younger brother of Najaf Ali Khan, Muhib Ali Khan appeared on the scene. He released Shah Navaz Khan from the clutches of the accompanying horsemen and took him towards the Fort of Chetput. Shah Navaz Khan was not accustomed to riding. He became exhausted and weary and got down near a tank adjacent to the Fort. After some time Mir Asaf Ali, an officer of Nasir Jung, appeared on the scene and safely escorted Muhib Ali Khan and Shah Navaz Khan inside the Fort. On the return march of Nizam Salabat Jung to the Deccan, Shah Navaz Khan separated and retired to Aurangabad where he continued until he was called upon to take part in the administration after the murder of Raja Ram Das. There was bitter rivalry between Shah Navaz Khan and Syed Lashkar Khan. Both resented the influence of the French in the Deccan. During the absence of Syed Lashkar Khan it fell to Shah Navaz Khan to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Marathas at Bhalki. Judging from the letters which he has written at this time it appears that Shah Navaz Khan was against giving territorial concessions to the Marathas. He disassociated himself from the peace parleys. He, however, felt that the French were more anxious to come to terms with Marathas at Bhalki than to continue the struggle on behalf of the Nizam. All that he suggested was that if the Nizam would march towards Ausa and join hands with Syed Lashkar Khan it might be possible to extract more favourable terms from the Marathas. But he knew that Syed Lashkar Khan was playing a dual role at the time and that effecting a junction with him would not make the position of the Nizam any more favourable. The anxiety of Shah Navaz Khan seems to be to escape the calumny that he was responsible for handing over Khandesh, Jalna and Samgamner to the Marathas. The truth seems to be that the Nizam's position was militarily extremely weak. His main reliance was on the French who were getting more and more friendly to the Marathas. There was thus no alternative but to hand over the territories as demanded by the Marathas. This shifting of French interest from the Nizam to the

Marathas, was a lesson which Shah Navaz Khan did not forget. After the resignation of Syed Lashkar Khan, Shah Navaz became the Chief Minister of the Nizam in 1753. He started cultivating friendly relations with the Peshwa. As a result of these efforts Shah Navaz Khan was enabled to make a successful campaign against Raghuji Bhosla and to collaborate with the Marathas in the campaign against Shrirang Pattan where he secured a large tribute for the Nizam. The active help which he rendered to Nanasaheb Peshwa in 1756 in the latter's campaign of Savnur shows that he considered Maratha friendship as a stabilising factor in the affairs of the Nizam. His action in dismissing the French after the campaign of Savnur was a grave miscalculation which ended in failure and left a bitter feeling in the minds of the French against him. In this action Shah Navaz Khan forgot the main fact that the French were militarily strong and could not be ousted from the Court of the Nizam so easily. It may, however, be said that the elimination of French influence from the Deccan seems to have been one of the aims of Shah Navaz Khan. This appears to be behind the friendly relations which he was developing towards the Marathas. He probably felt that Salabat Jung was a weak ruler and had to be replaced by someone who would be in a position to assert himself. This seems to be the reason why he precipitated a struggle with the Nizam and his brother Basalat Jung and called in the help of the Marathas so that he would be in a stronger position to deal with the French later on. Here too his calculations miscarried. The Marathas fought against the Nizam and withdrew after securing substantial territory from the Nizam. Shah Navaz Khan was deprived of the Fort of Daulatabad by the Nizam and placed under detention. At this stage he felt that he should cultivate the friendship of the French once again and deprive Nizam Ali Khan of all power as he considered the latter to be responsible for his own misfortune. This policy of double dealing at last cost him his life.

The fact is that the Marathas were militarily strong and a growing power, they were not dependent on any other power. This was not the case with Hyderabad. The military power of Hyderabad was extremely weak. It had not the strength to resist Maratha encroachment on the one hand and the growing French influence on the other. It had no strength of its own. The only diplomacy which the statesmen of Hyderabad could pursue was one of opportunism, with the realisation that there was no way which could make Hyderabad strong. Raja Ram Das brought in the French to attack the Marathas. After the campaign which ended in a stalemate, the French began to realise that in the affairs of the Deccan, the Marathas were a stronger and more stable element than the Nizam, and that cultivation of good relations with them would be profitable. Syed Lashkar Khan and Shah Navaz Khan who followed Raja Ram Das as the Chief Ministers of the Deccan were suspicious of the designs of the Marathas. But they also resented the growing influence of the French and tried to shake off their yoke. Here too they could only play the role of Opportunists as the State they were representing was militarily a very weak one. They could only try to get the support of the Marathas in their design and that too at the expense of cession of territories. This opportunism was the cause of the resignation of Syed Lashkar Khan and later the ultimate down-fall and murder of Shah Navaz Khan. So long as a state cannot summon its own resources and has to depend for its very existence on outside aid, its statesmen cannot but be opportunists. There was no alternative to the course which they followed. But the greatest disservice Shah Navaz Khan did to the Nizam was in calling in the help of the Marathas to maintain his own position in the Court. When he was dismissed by the Nizam in July 1757 he had retired to the Fort of Daulatabad. He could have awaited the arrival of the French. There was absolutely no reason for him to invite Nanasaheb Peshwa to his help. The most surprising thing was that he paid Rs. 30 lakhs from the Nizam's Treasury to Nanasaheb Peshwa as a price for Maratha invasion of the Nizam's territory. How disastrous this step was could be seen from the fact that after the campaign of Sindkhed (1757-58) the Marathas would only depart after obtainning a territory yielding an annual income of Rs. 27 lakhs. Nor did the Maratha invasion help Shah Navaz Khan in his aim. He was made the Diwan in November 1757 but all effective power had passed on to Nizam Ali Khan, the younger brother of Salabat Jung. Shah Navaz Khan could not escape detention and ultimately in the struggle for power between Nizam Ali Khan on the one hand and the Agent of the French, Hyder Jung, on the other, Shah Navaz Khan was murdered, a necessary result of the dubious policy, he had adopted towards the main contestants for power in the Deccan. His life was thus a tragedy, based as it was on opportunism and lack of resources—military or otherwise—to support his intentions. This would be the verdict of history on this politician. Shah Navaz Khan, however, achieved lasting fame as the author of Masir-Ul-Umara, a work which no student of Indian History can ignore.

In the following pages a gist of selected letters of Shah Navaz Khan will follow. These letters have been addressed to Dilawar Khan, who was the Faujdar of Sira (Mysore), Mohammed Hussen Khan, cousin of Shah Navaz Khan, and the Governor of the Province of Hyderabad, Dargah Quli Khan, who rose to be the Governor of the Province of Aurangabad from 1758 to 1763, Nanasaheb Peshwa, Malharrao Holkar, Anwar Khan (Qutubuddowlah) some time Governor of Burhanpur, Imadulmulk, the grandson of Nizam-Ul-Mulk and the Vazir of the Mogul Emperor and many others. Of special interest to the students of Maratha-Nizam Relation will be the letters bearing on the treaty of Bhalki campaign of Sindkhed and those addressed to the Peshwa. A few of them are given below:

Letters addressed to Dargah Quli Khan in 1752 pertaining to the attack by the Marathas on the Nizam and the subsequent treaty of Bhalki.

(1)

"Your letter of the 11th of Muharram Saturday was received at the camp of Bhalki. The battle with the Marathas is in progress since last 3 or 4 days. Yesterday they attacked the camp. Our artillery did good work. It did not become possible for the French to bring their artillery in full play at the place of the battle. A considerable number of men have been killed. The enemy crowded round the camp and fired into our army. On our side 120 shots were fired. Since yesterday cannon have also been brought out and have started playing. Let us see how the affair ends. To-day on 12th Muharram we are camping at Bhalki. We may have to remain tomorrow and the day after as well".

(2)

"I was requested with great earnestness to consider the terms of the treaty. I said that there had been enmity between me and Nasir Jung. He has always been the medium of negotiations with the Marathas. The whole position is not free from doubt. What trust can there be on their (Maratha's) words? If peace is achieved, it will only be by cession of territory. I will be earning everlasting odium for the same. They then went to Monseiur

Bussy. Rumi Khan went and brought a message containing various items. I told him that some of the items were complicated while some were vague. I was told that it was so but the tendency was to side with the French. I am feeling very ill. His Highness (the Nizam) wrote a letter last night. It was brought to Abdulhay Khan for my perusal. Shame be on such treaty. I said: "We can traverse a distance of 3 or 4 *Kos* in 4 weeks (29 days) and reach Ausa. Naseer Jung will join us". Naseer Jung does not listen to anything except the treaty. It was decided today that Bussy and myself were to go (to the Marathas). I did not agree. This created unpleasantness. I wrote that I would like to go on leave. The idea was to resign the employment. Therefore, Qawi Jung and Tahawur Jung have been appointed. The treaty is being fixed on the guarantees and promises of the French. These people have agreed to unheard of terms. What is the use of anyone going on the mission and get a bad name? These people will be going to become only witnesses. People are very much displeased with him. If Balaji writes again that such and such a person should be sent, I will first resign and then go. I will then return to the city (Aurangabad). They will keep Balaji away from writing like this. Some other people also are going to them and agreeing to their demands. It means that more is being agreed to than what Firoz Jung had promised. On the 13th my health became greatly affected. Today is Tuesday. On the 14th Bussy, Tahawur Jung, Qawi Jung and Safshikhan Khan are going. I refused. What is the use of the others going as witnesses and of what use will I be even as a Vakil-e-Mutlaq and Diwan. If they want a Panch Hazari to go Tahawur Jung is a Panch Hazari. Therefore, Qawi Jung and Tahawur Jung have been appointed last night. Of his own desire, Sufshikan Khan joined them. Oh God. 'what desire is this and for what purpose? Umaji Jadhav has been appointed to wait upon Bussy. Alas! due to impotence Deccan is slipping away. Nothing is in our favour while everything is against us".

(3)

"God only knows how the affair of Jalna lasted for one full discussion. What was the use? The Vakils of Balaji wanted a further meeting. I told them that I would see them if they were prepared to give up Jalna. They asked for the Fort of Junner in return. How could I take this odium. I told them that they could take Ausa Vaijapur. This was postponed to a further meeting because of trouble in the army. No further meeting could be held, even though they desired, to have the proposals their way strongly".

(4)

"I have informed you of my anxiety and troubles over the treaty. My colleagues went and achieved the treaty. I went into retirement, although I was repeatedly requested not to go. I hear that the Nizam was himself visiting him. I persuaded him not to do so. I sent word that he had a faithful friend. On the 16th a meeting was arranged with Balaji. The Nizam himself wrote to him a letter of request and entreaty. I was requested to go to Balaji but I refused, although I was given promise of safe escort. Notable persons in the Company said "We are the masters of the territory". I replied "If so, you are free to do whatever you like. But you have made Islam weak and helpless". There was no reply to this. Things have come to such a pass that nobody has got any understanding. The Nizam also does not understand. What I wanted to say was that if we could only march one or two stages, we could extract a more favourable treaty".

(5)

"The French have entered into an agreement with the Marathas telling them that they were with them and that with the prestige of the Marathas the Mysore campaign could be achieved successfully. Balaji and Saduji (Sadashivrao Bhau) would be going on the campaign provided the Nizam too marched. The French say that it would be good if they go on the Campaign, otherwise they (French) would separate. It was decided not to wait for the arrival of Naseer Jung. Agreement has been reached with Balaji. Naseer Jung has sent a letter of resignation saying that if any one were to interfere with him, he would retire to the Roza. The Nizam desires to go by himself to Parenda. Balaji is apprehensive that the Nizam may think of advancing from Parenda towards Poona and then the peace would be broken. It has been suggested that he may go via Naldurg and Awarad towards the river Krishna and Balaji will leave Humnabad and join later. In consultation with him they are considering recalling Naseer Jung. I pity the weak understanding and helplessness of these people. At present Balaji is in a favourable mood. If he sticks on to his promise it will mean new life for him. It will be like nectar to him, especially considering what happened after the death of Firoz Jung; if Balaji turns away from his promise nothing will come out.

(6)

"It is not good to waste one's army by surrendering to the enemy who are waiting for a favourable opportunity. It tantamounts to weakening oneself. They (enemy) are strong and can do whatever they like. The Nizam himself desires to call Naseer Jung back. Naseer Jung is at Parenda and has written expressing his refusal to come. It appears that the Nizam will go to him. To-morrow he will reach Ausa. Parenda is 30 *Kos* distant from Ausa. If Ruknowddowlah (Syed Lashkar Khan Naseer Jung) comes to Ausa, well and good; if not the Nizam will go to him. I pity him. The French and the Marathas have joined hands and are against the Nizam's departure. With great difficulty they agreed to the Nizam going to Ausa. In the alternative he will go from Humnabad towards the South. He has no understanding and he has no allies except the French, and they are selfish. Naseer Jung has been saying about me asking what I had done when in office. He has asked the Nizam "you have concluded that I was in league with Firoz Jung, instigated the Marathas and myself remained aloof. Why should I come"? Nobody speaks about this but everyone knows what the truth of the matter is".

(7)

"Bahadur Dil Khan has conveyed certain criticisms made by Syed Lashkar Khan, one of which was that I had not taken proper action when I was working as Vakil-E-Mutlaq. In justice I must say that there is no ground for such criticism. It was alleged against me that I had made improper persons as agents of my work. Another criticism made by him which is also not proper is that I have not exerted myself but had become only a witness".

(8)

As is well known Shah Navaz Khan marched against Raghuji Bhosla in February 1754. In this affair he seems to have been in close consultation with Balaji Peshwa. The following letter will illustrate the contact which Shah Navaz Khan was maintaining with Balaji. His letter is addressed to Balaji:—

"I am in receipt of your letter replying to the complaints made against Raghuji Bhosla and was very pleased to note the contents therein. The reply to your letter is sent through Parashuram Pandit. If it is acted upon it will be proper and good. Praise be to God that the reputation of your straightforwardness and firm attachment to agreement is well known throughout the world. This is a necessary qualification of greatness and chiefship. The agreement against Raghuji Bhosla will be achieved as desired by you. Our aim is that he (Raghuji Bhosla) should refrain from creating commotion in the area of Hyderabad and Nanded, should not extract amounts from the Suba of Berar more than what was due, return Rs. 5 lakhs, hand over the Fort of Gavilgad to this Government and send his troops towards Bengal. These terms have been communicated to him. Until a reply is received, we are camping in the neighbourhood of Beedar and Bhalki. Expecting a meeting with you. In this meeting whatsoever is decided upon, will be brought into action. Kindly send a reply so that the campaign towards Karnatak is to be decided. A delay will not be proper".

(9)

There is another letter addressed to Balaji. It seems that Balaji had desired the assistance of the French in his Karnatak campaign. Shah Navaz Khan says—

"Your letter communicating your decision to go on a campaign to the Karantak has been received. This was placed before the Nizam. Umdatul Mulk Gazanfar Jung (Bussy) was present with the Nizam. He remarked that formerly there was enmity between the English and the French. In the wars large territories were devastated. Now peace has been decided upon between the two parties on condition that the contestants should retain the territories which they possessed before and that there should be no war between them. This has been communicated to the King of France. Whatever instructions are received from him will be obeyed. Under these circumstances it will not be proper for us (French) to act against the English. We cannot fight against them as it will be against all agreements. On the other hand we will have to act in league with them or else, we will get a bad name. It will be said that the Marathas were acting against the English due to the instigation of the French. This will be very improper and against friendship. I am sending this information to you. As Umadatul Mulk Gazanfar Jung and you are attached to each other it is better to inform you of what has happened.

The rest of the news will be made known to you through Parashuram Pandit.

(10)

In another letter to Balaji Peshwa, Shah Navaz Khan informs him of how he took possession of the Fort of Daulatabad from the Governors of the Fort. He is at pains to point out that he had to do so because of the improper acts of the Governor. The truth is that Shah Navaz Khan wanted the Fort for himself for the purpose of security. The Fort was held by the then Governor's family on a *Sanad* from the Moghul Emperor. These Governors were known as Badshahi Kiledars. They could not be dispossessed without another *Sanad* or order of appointment being obtained. Shah Navaz Khan got such an order from the Mogul Court and after a short demonstration of strength against the Governor took possession of the Fort. As is well known, he took refuge in the Fort of Daulatabad to escape from the Nizam's soldiery in July 1757.

There is a letter addressed to the Royal Messenger, one Raja Keshav Rao. It seems that when Ahmedshah Abdali had advanced upto Agra and Mathura, Nana Saheb Peshwa must have asked the Nizam to send forces to the North in league with the Marathas. This is what Shah Navaz Khan writes to Raja Keshav Rao.

"Your letter has been the cause of great pleasure. You have also enclosed the translation of the letter which the Rao Pandit Pradhan wrote to you. A similar letter has been received from the Rao Pandit Pradhan by us. It was informed in that letter that in connection with the invasion of Abdali from Lahore, Raghu Nath Rao and Malharrao Holkar had gone to the help of the Mogul Emperor. We were asked to send an army artillery under an able officer. A reply has been sent to that letter as follows:

"It is far from our thought to hesitate in sending our army with you. Marathas who march in Northern India do not carry any money to cover their ependiture but pay their expenses from the realisations in that area. It is in this way that the Marathas have occupied the territory between Narmada and Rajputana and also the Duab. Even if the Marathas stay for a year in that area, they do not require any money from this area. On the other hand, if our army is posted there, it will have to be paid on the basis of half-yearly expenditure. Hundies will have to be sent later on continuously. Where is this money to come from? The late Nizam-Ul-Mulk, whenever he went to Shahajanabad (Delhi), found that although he possessed a Jagir in Northern India, his army was not willing to accompany him from the Deccan to Northern India. He had to dismiss a few and leave the rest in the Deccan and had to go alone. The Vazir-Ul-Mulk (Imadul Mulk) has not written anything to us in this connection although he has great friendship for the Nizam. As the news of Abdalli's arrival upto Mathura and Akabarabad (Agra) became certain, it so happened that the Nizam had marched to Hyderabad due to private reasons. The French are at a distance and Rao Pandit Pradhan is at Shrirangapattan. If Abdalli desires to march to the Deccan then it would not be proper for the Nizam to return to Aurangabad. If Abdali marches towards the Deccan before the rains, it is certain that Rao Pandit Pradhan will give up every other matter and return to the Deccan swiftly. These is no apprehension that he will hesitate in doing so. Under these circumstances, it will not be improper for the Nizam to go to Hyderabad and return in case of need. If Abdali decides to go to the Deccan after the rainy season, the Nizam will return to Aurangabad and it will be possible to collect army and artillery. Praise be to God that Abdali has returned to his country".

(11)

There are a few letters pertaining to the year 1757 when Shah Navaz Khan had sought refuge in the Fort of Daulatabad. At his invitation the Marathas had invaded Aurangabad. The Nizam and his brothers Basalat Jung and Nizam Ali Khan had joined their forces to oppose the Nizam. They persuaded Shah Navaz Khan to come out of Daulatabad and join them. These letters are addressed to Mohammed Husen Khan, Governor of the Province of Hyderabad and the cousin of Shah Navaz Khan. In the following letter there is a reference to the message of Nizam Ali Khan to Shah Navaz Khan asking the latter to join him.

"I waited long for their arrival. Neither Nizam-Uddowlah sent a message to me. He has become the heir apparent and has taken over the control of all forts from the Nizam. He has sent a sealed letter through Maharao (Nimbalkar), Janoji (Nimbalkar) and Qawi Jung. I sent a reply containing my terms. He accepted them. The same day i.e. the First of Rabilawal, Maharao Janoji, Sultanji, Laxman Rao, Qawi Jung, Qasura Jung, Ibrahim Khan and 10 to 20 Jamadars including Bahadur Khan and others were sent by Nizam Ali Khan to me. I became helpless and accepted the services of Nizam Ali Khan. He was very kind to me. An agreement has been reached between us. The Nizam came to the scene and called me. I want an end to the dispute in whatever way possible".

(12)

There is a reference to the peace negotiations after the campaign of Sind-Khed in the following letter:

"I have informed you previously that peace talks are in progress. There is a dispute concerning the district of Gangapur. It had almost been decided to sign the treaty. There was no obstruction left. All of a sudden, Vishawas Rao sent away; Vithaldas (Vithal Sunder) saying that there will be no treaty. At present he appears to have decided to go to Shahagad".

(13)

In another letter Shah Navaz Khan informs as follows:—

"After leaving Sindkhed and approaching the city (Aurangabad) signs of peace have become apparent. They have agreed to take Naldurg in place of Ahmednagar. There is a dispute only about the district of Gangapur. Marathas want the district of Chitapur in place of Indore (Modern Nizamabad in Andhra Pradesh). Talks are going on between Raja Vithal Das and their representatives."

(14)

Reference has been made above to the fact that Shah Navaz Khan avoided sending an army to the Nawab in conjunction with the Marathas at the time of the invasion of Abadali. He sent a letter of a similar nature on behalf of Salabat Jung to Firoz Jung Vazir-Ul-Mumalik or the Chief Minister of the Emperor. He has pleaded unwillingness of the army to go the Deccan. The necessity to maintain troops in the Deccan to deal with the disturbed conditions created by the enemy, and the fact that the French were still away and were not in a position to join the Nizam soon, has been explained.

It would appear that the Nizam received a letter from Abadali and the Mogul Emperor asking him to exert himself against the Marathas. The following is the wording of the letter:—

"At this juncture letters from Ahmedshah Durrani, Alamgir Badshah and Khan-e-Khanan were received to the effect that the Deccan had been assigned in the name of the Prince whose Deputy will be Alijah. Efforts should be made to destroy the Kafirs. At present, by God's grace, Abdali has gone away.

The reply has been sent through Mohmed Syed Khan that if publicity were to be given to the desire of the Emperor, it would affect the friendship existing between us and the Rao Pandit Pradhan. There will be difficulties in getting assistance from the Emperor. What is the use of speaking of such scheme (putting down the Kafirs)? It will only give rise to disturbances which will not be proper".

Shah Navaz Khan has written a number of letters to Dilawar Khan of Sira and to Gulam Ali Azad Bilgrami. A few of the letters to Dilawar Khan contain information about Murar Rao Ghorpade, a Maratha General who was established in the Karnatak and who had relations with Nizam on the one hand and Balaji on the other. At one stage, it appears that Shah Navaz Khan wanted to assist Murar Rao Ghorpade but was discreet enough not to do so for fear that it would displease Balaji. Shah Navaz Khan was a man of letters and of refined taste. There are references in his letters to Dilawar Khan and Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami to the presents of fruits, fine cloth and books. There is also a discussion in the letters of interesting points in Persian Poetry and information is given and sought about Persian Poets. These letters reveal how in the midst of his exacting duties Shah Navaz Khan retained his interest in literary matters to the end.

Only a few letters out of the 160 found in the manuscript have been described above. They throw light on the main points in the career of Shah Navaz Khan, especially in relation to the Marathas such as the—rivalry between Shah Navaz Khan and Syed Lashkar Khan; his helplessness in the face of Maratha-French combination at the time of the treaty of Bhalki; his anxiety to maintain correct relations with the Marathas and his diplomacy in avoiding sending troops to the North at the bidding of the Marathas. This collection of letters deserves an earnest perusal by the students of Deccan History and would prove, if edited and published, very useful source for the study of the 18th century Deccan.

The Economic Impact of the West on Indian Industries

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India, at the advent of the European traders, was a great manufacturing country. The products of her highly developed cottage industries were greatly prized in the countries of Asia, Europe and Africa where they were carried mostly by the Arabs and the Armenians by the well-known sea routes, and by the Indian caravans by the land routes. In the 15th and 16th centuries the desire of the Europeans to have the industrial products of India and the spices of the East was the guiding motive in the development of their art of navigation, discovery of the mariner's compass and the epoch-making geographical discoveries. The process of enrichment through the sale of India's industrial products, begun by the Portuguese, was shared subsequently, after a century of unchallenged monopoly, by other ambitious and adventurous nations like the Dutch, the English, the French and others. These European traders carried on lucrative trade with the rich hinterlands of their trading stations on the sea coast of India.

The economy of India was never purely an agricultural economy. Most of the agriculturists were artisans in their spare time. According to Dr. Buchanan, spinning and weaving were the national industries of India next to agriculture. They were carried on in every family as subsidiary industries and were dispersed throughout the country. Thus agriculture and manufactures went hand in hand. Agriculture supplied food for sustenance. Industries provided money for enrichment. The fabulous wealth of India as pictured by the European travellers of the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries was the product of the flourishing Indian industries such as cotton, silk and woollen textiles, cotton-silk and cotton-wool fabrics, jute cloth, sugar, indigo, saltpetre, medicines, ivory work, perfumery, leather work, gold and silver thread and cloth, filigree work, jewellery, dyeing and printing, ship and boat-building, iron and steel, arms and accoutrements, different kinds of works on metals, carriages of different varieties and innumerable other minor industries.

Of all parts of India, Bengal was the most notable for her industrial advance and for her large varieties of piece-goods which had attained a very high level of perfection. Owing to her remarkably superior, exquisitely delicate and unimaginably light muslin which was a wonder to the world, the name of Dacca has gone into a proverb. *Sarbatis, alabelies, aberavans* and *nainsukhs* were most important textiles. Surat, Mysore, Karnatak, Madras, Oudh, Chanderi, Banares, Burhanpur, Golkunda and several other parts of the Nizam's dominions and various places in Rajputana, the Punjab and Kashmir were well known for their excellent textiles, calico-printing and embroideries. Among the various varieties suited to the requirements, tastes and fashions of the age, there were plain, white, coloured, striped, checked as well as flowered and figured textiles. Among their qualities were fine, superfine and fine superfine. They were known for excellent workmanship, beauty and softness. They were popular even in the foreign markets on account of their cheapness, attractive designs and colour schemes, fineness of texture, fastness of colour and excellent durability. The Indian silks were sold in Europe at one-third of the price of the European silks. In this sphere, according to Sir William Hunter, the industrial genius of India had distinguished itself from other Asiatic lands. In the words of Martin, before London was known in history, India was the richest trading mart of the earth. Handicrafts were practised on a fairly large scale. Writing about the economic glory of Bengal, Pattullo remarked in 1772 that the quality of the Bengal textiles was so peculiar that no nation on the globe could either equal or rival them. Munro has paid glowing tribute to her excellent woollen manufactures. Several other Indian industries were not less known outside.

All the industries of India were worked by hand labour. Unlike the modern factory industries with huge capital, large labour and mechanized means of production, the organisation of industries in the 18th century was simple, least expensive and quite unimposing. The establishments were small. The capital investment was meagre. Workmen employed on wages were few. The artisan, his skill and capacity to work were more important than his capital. The industrial skill and vocations were mostly hereditary. Barring a few exceptional cases of large scale production in the royal workshops, as recorded by Bernier and Travernier, in most cases the production was in the hands of the families of artisans who had specialized in different branches of industries. Production was based on the traditional principle of rural self-sufficiency which was a happy blending of agriculture and handicraft. The staple products necessary for the common people were all produced in the villages from where surplus was sent outside. At places, production was done simply to meet the outside demand. Majority of the spinners were women and old men. The industries, which were mostly hereditary professions based on caste system, were very stable. Although founded on the principle of specialization, they lacked the modern elaborate division of labour. Exchange in the villages was mostly by barter. Craftsmen and consumers in general dealt directly with each other. For the sale of village products to outsiders the medium of exchange was the current currency. Towns excelled in art and luxury products, supported by the demand of the court, the aristocracy and the foreign markets. There the medium of exchange was money. Large sums were remitted by *hundies.* The transaction of money was done through the indigenous banking houses. However, the capitalist class which controls production in modern times and the middle class which is the backbone of the capitalist system had not come into prominence in the 18th century.

The industries and their organizations remained unaffected by ordinary political storms. Major political disasters adversely affected them but could not destroy them. If they were accidentally crippled, they had the potentiality to spring into action again. They remained the chief sources of India's wealth till the onrush of western domination and capitalism shattered their foundations. Unlike the ancient and mediaeval foreign conquerors, who merged themselves in Indian society, the European conquerors remained as foreign forces acting from outside and carrying tributes out of India. With them the interests of their mother countries were always predominant. This was not conducive to the continuance of India's industries. All past disasters had not gone deeper than the surface of her economy. The new one broke down the entire framework without any fresh one to replace it for a long time.

The decline of Indian industries and the rise of new ones were long-drawn-out processes continuing through many decades. Among the number of forces which brought them about the British impact was the most significant determining factor. This economic impact of the West on Indian industries has to be studied under four heads, viz. (1) European impact before the establishment of virtual monopoly by the English East India Company (2) British impact during the period of monopoly (3) British impact from the time of the break down of the East India Company's monopoly to the emergence of new industries in India and (4) British impact during the last ninety years.

The first of these periods was marked by the gradual replacement of the Arab and the Armenian merchants from the oversea foreign and coastal trades of India by the enterprising European Trading Companies, which became the carriers of the famous products of Indian industries to different countries of the old and the new world. The Indian manufactures began to change the fashions of the age and secured a world-wide market. The foreign buyers in the Indian markets being large in number and competitive in spirit, the demand for the Indian products increased several-fold and the margin of profit obtained by the manufacturers and the trading middlemen was quite encouraging. So long as the rival trading companies continued to buy in the Indian markets, and had no other interests, the Indian overseas and coastal trades were greatly pushed up. This led to greater industrial activity in India, more revenue for its governments, greater prosperity for the manufacturers and the business communities, greater patronage to industries, increased efficiency of the artists due to better economic condition and improvement in the quality and quantity of production. Thus, the first European impact was helpful and beneficial to India. It gave considerable stimulus to Indian industries when, due to the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, the general political decay of India and the consequent emergence of unsettled conditions, the new internal atmosphere was the least congenial for the expansion of industrial activities. The contemporary foreign accounts give a glowing picture of India's industrial life and prosperity. The favourable balance of her trade ensured her enrichment and made her virually 'a sink of gold and silver' coming from the foreign countries in lieu of her products. Under the fostering care of the European Trading Companies new commercial towns on the sea coast like Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Goa, Pondichery and others and new marketing centres around them grew up rapidly.

The increasing foreign export trade of India was no less productive of beneficial results for the European Trading Companies which became rich and prosperous. The greatest gainer among them was the English East India Company which acquired an epoch-making commercial concession in 1717 from the Mughal Emperor, Farrukhsiyar, by which the foreign trade of Bengal was made almost duty-free for her. This Imperial *farman* placed the commerce of the English East India Company on a different footing from that of other rival companies. It emerged as a superior commercial body. This was the starting point of Great Britain's rapid prosperity through the eastern trade. Her trade and profits depended entirely on Indian industries. Hence, in the interest of England itself, the Indian industries flourished as a result of the first British impact.

The Imperial *farman* was also the starting-point of the commercial malpractices. It gave an incentive to the servants of the East India Company to abuse the trading privileges and to acquire personal fortunes. The weakening political authority in India increased opportunities for this evil. The misuse and fraudulent sale of *dustaks* and the attempts to remove European competitors from the Indian markets and acquire monopoly of the foreign trade of Bengal were the concomitant results of the historic forces at work. A desire to acquire control over the inland trade and to undersell the Indian merchant in his own home market grew up by the middle of the 18th century. These tendencies were perceptible after the death of Murshid Kuli Khan of Bengal. During the tenure of Alivardi Khan, the instances of commercial abuses were not infrequent. Under his weak successor Sirajuddaula, abuses had come on the open surface. His desire to prevent the misuse of privileges led to a conspiracy against him which resulted in his deposition at Plassey and his subsequent murder. This incident paved the way for the economic ruin of the eastern part of India and marked the beginning of British domination over the whole country. The Carnatic wars were principally commercial wars between the two chief rival European nations by which the French influence was removed from Bengal and control over the commerce of the eastern coast of India was acquired by the English. With this transformation in the character and role of the English East India Company, a period of monopolistic commerce began, by which the Indian producer no longer enjoyed the seller's market.

This initial period of British impact was also marked by the loss of market of England for the Indian textiles. The rising consciousness in England to safeguard her crude industries against the growing vogue of the Indian textiles resulted in the passing of the two parliamentary legislations in 1700 and 1720 by which the use of the most popular varieties of Indian cottons and silks was prohibited and made punishable while others were subjected to prohibitive and protective import duties. There was nothing wrong in this attitude of England. It was quite inevitable and not at all unnatural and unjustified. The legislations were passed not with a desire to harm India. However, it was the first set-back to the Indian textile industry. In spite of it the Indian textiles continued to flourish by the European contacts. The prohibitive duties were not removed till the Indian textile industry remained in a position to compete with the English products.

The second period in the history of the British impact on Indian industries began with the battle of Plassey which marked a turning-point in the economic history of India. The English traders appeared in the new role of Nawab-makers and remained as a power behind the throne. With the removal of the Dutch influence from Bengal in 1759, monopoly over the trade and commerce of Bengal was fully acquired. By the time of Wellesley, the commerce of Hyderabad, Mysore, Oudh and Surat was also controlled. This was the worst period in the economic history of Bengal. All the evil effects of the monopolistic ways of commerce on industry were well marked. The illegal and objectionable commercial practices became the well-established modes of commerce. *Dustaks* were used for the evasion of duties on articles of inland trade. They were freely sold to others for gainful purposes. Trade in the articles till then prohibited was forcibly started. Private inland trade was introduced as an innovation. System of forced buying and selling became a common feature. The Indian merchants were undersold in their own markets. All branches of trade were completely engrossed by the Company's servants. By direct contact with the producers they controlled the purchase market and made their vocations unremunerative. Mir Qasim who was opposed to this kind of trade was removed from the throne by force in 1764. Then commenced a period of power without responsibility which marked the darkest and the most harmful period in the economic annals of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

From 1757 onwards the economic drain from India to England increased progressively and British investments in India for commercial purposes were rapid and prodigious. The larger was the capital earned in India and remitted home, the greater was the amount which came back as surplus capital for investment. The unscrupulous and tyrannical modes of direct investments and the questionable methods of their collection, the application of force in commercial transactions, the cruel exploitation of the producers by all sorts of cunning devices through a net-work of British factories situated at convenient centres, the rigidity in the enforcement of monopolistic system, the gross misuse of commercial privileges and political position and the inequities of the private inland trade reduced the margin of profits of the Indian producers to the barest minimum, and most often converted the prosperous Indian industries and handicrafts into losing concerns.

A single set of buyers dictated their terms to the producers. The Agents and servants of the East India Company and their *gumastas* rode rough-shod over the artisans, forced contracts on unremunerative terms, inflicted penalties on failure to fulfil them, destroyed their cloth if they worked for others and bled them white financially. In inflicting these miseries the laws of the realm were defied. The sympathisers of the artisans were manhandled and the Nawab's officers were imprisoned, flogged and maltreated in different ways if they came in the way. Intimidation, violence and neglect of authority passed on as the common modes of commerce. In this way the trade of the Company's servants was reduced to organised brigandage and virtual plunder. *Gumastas* became a source of terror. Any resistance by the people against their oppressions was sure to be construed as an attack on the Company's rights and woeful results used to ensue. In the words of a contemporary author, every *gumasta* had become a judge and every one's house his *cachehri*. Complaints made to the authorities of the Company always ended in smoke. The Nawab was not in a position to redress the grievances of his subjects or even to protect them from oppressions, extortions and ruin. 'The name of an Englishman was both his protection and sanction for the offences which he would not dare commit at home. In practice, he wielded enormous powers and used them with the least restraint'.

A good deal has been written on this subject not only by the opponents of the East India Company but also by the eminent British officials and some Indian contemporaries. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the contemporary accounts like Vansittart's 'Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal', Verelst's 'Review of the English Government in Bengal' and Warren Hastings's letters and dispatches to his superior officers. The writings of Rennell, Orme, David Rannie, Sergeant Brego, Burke, etc., tell the same tale. Historians like Mill and Wilson have expressed sorrow at the selfish conduct of the Company's servants. The dispatches of Mir Qasim are replete with pathetic remonstrances against the commercial misdoings of the insolent servants of the Company. The writings of William Bolts, which are supposed to be biased, contain substantial truth. All accounts go to prove that the economic history of Bengal after 1757 is a highly melancholy tale of gross injustice which was condemned in the strongest terms by so many contemporary Europeans.

The abuses and the obnoxious and scandalous commercial practices had become so chronic that they ate into the vitals of Bengal's life and wrought great havoc on its industries. The harmful effects of enforced commerce were felt by every spinner and weaver who had to work under inconvenient mandates. The artisan lost his rightful margin of profit. The so-called incredible story of cutting off the thumbs of the Dacca muslim producers and winders of raw silk relates to this period. The country humming with industrial activity was ruined. The famine of Bengal (1769-70) was the culminating point of economic misery to which the people were reduced. A large number of artisans perished in its flames and the languishing textile industry suffered a good deal. History does not record another such all-round and sweeping economic exploitation and usurpation of trade, resulting in the gradual decline of indigenous industries. The period of direct British contacts with the producers was the period of the greatest agony.

No earnest attempt was made to improve the condition. Clive evaded the orders of the Court of Directors to stop the evil of private inland trade. Even when the notorious evil was stopped by his successor, things did not improve. Verelst found scarcity of weavers. Bengal was unable to supply the increased demand of textiles in 1768. So great was the havoc created that the increased demand failed to provide impetus to the declining industries. In fact, they could not flourish under the uncongenial system of monopoly and coercion. Warren Hastings took measures to reform the system not so much with a view to releasing the poor and helpless artisans from exploitation as with the object of facilitating British commerce and improving the financial condition of East India Company and transferring the gains from the servants to the organization. However, till the end of the administration of Warren Hastings, the East India Company had no desire to cripple the Indian cotton textile industry which was so profitable to England. But the conditions created were positively discouraging and completely uncongenial even to their continuance. The only industry which the Directors wished to discourage was the production of silk fabrics which suffered the greatest loss.

In the absence of any research work on British commerce with other parts of India, it is difficult to give an exact picture of the harm done by the British commerce to the production and trade in those parts. However, from the sundry available sources it can be stated unhesitatingly that the British mode of trade with the entire eastern coast and with Surat, on the western coast of India, was not much different. Under quite different conditions trade with Oudh and Hyderabad was carried on with some moderation and without any physical violence but not altogether without any commercial mal-practices.

During this period of monopoly and enforced commerce, the Indian financiers felt a progressive loss of grip upon the Indian market. The wholesale trade of the British territories was mostly transferred to foreign hands. With this change the European Banking Houses came to be established which led to the decay of Indian banking. The currency muddle created by the disruption of the Mughal power in India became most intricate and complicated and showed its adverse effects in the commerce and industries of India. The injudicious attempts at currency reforms by Clive, Verelst and Warren Hastings failed miserably and made currency problem worse confounded. Undoubtedly, this was partly the effect of British impact.

The gradual expansion of the British Empire during this period led to the destruction of independent states, decline of court life and impoverishment of the members of the old aristocracy, who were the chief patrons and consumers of costly artistic products in India. This exercised a destructive influence on Indian industries. Similarly, the impoverishment of the *ryot* by the defective commercial, land revenue and agricultural policies resulted in the shrinkage of internal demand which had a discouraging effect on the production of goods. The farming system and the decline of agriculture, coupled with the oppressive commercial dealings of the unscrupulous English merchants, created unemployment, lawlessness and disorder which were harmful to peace-time vocations. In the same way, the constant wars, the breakdown of indigenous law courts, the collapse of administration, the inadequate protection to life and property, the existence of anarchy, disorder and an atmosphere of political uncertainty and the increased criminal tendencies and activities had no less obstructive effect on the manufacturing industries. Thus the second impact of Great Britain on Indian industries was, from all possible points of view, the beginning of the process of dislocation and disruption.

The wealth drawn from India during this period enabled the English people to increase their prosperity, to improve their economic and social standards, and to spend money on education, scientific advancement and mechanical inventions. It added considerably to England's cash capital, increased her stock of energy and multiplied her wealth-producing capacity. The essential motive force supplied by the highly developed textile industry of India and the accelerating energy provided by the wealth obtained from there placed England on the road to industrial revolution. Her scientific progress and the mechanical inventions revolutionised the technique of production first of all in the textile industry by 1784, and subsequently in other industries also. They reduced the cost of production in England and made largescale manufacturing possible. This new force was destined to dislodge the Indian industries from their moorings.

With the epoch-making change in the technique of production in England, a new phase in the history of the economic impact of Great Britain on India was ushered in. The East India Company was asked to create market for British textiles in India and the eastern world. The first samples came during the last days of Warren Hastings's governor-generalship. For sometime the Company imported English manufactures into India much against its own will, because trade in Indian textiles was more profitable, but later on import of British textiles became a general practice. Lord Wellesley endeavoured to popularize them by exhibiting them in the local fairs. By the end of the governor-generalship of Lord Minto imports assumed an enormous scale. In 1794 the imports were valued at £56 and in 1813 they increased to £1,08,824. The character of trade also began to undergo a gradual transformation. Export of raw cotton increased in volume. The process of rendering the import trade of England from India subservient to the manufacturing industries of England by the import of raw materials began in right earnest. The British merchants trading with other parts of the world created markets for their country's goods in their respective zones where they used to carry Indian textiles. On the degree of their success in these attempts depended the degree of loss of market for Indian textiles in India as well as the countries outside it.

By a policy of one-sided free trade tariff, British goods were virtually forced into India where they began to undersell the Indian piecegoods, while the Indian manufactures continued to be prohibited in England either by legislation against their use or by a highly discriminatory policy of prohibitive tariff. In this way, British industries were promoted at the expense of Indian industrial products which were shut out even from the foreign markets where they used to reach through the English traders. This was unfair to India. It showed the selfishness of England and wrong done to India. Under the iron heels of imperialism, she found herself in a helpless condition. When the process of uprooting was in progress, nothing was done to fulfil the moral obligation towards India by grant of protection to her well-established industries against the unequal and destructive foreign competition, either by erecting heavy tariff barriers against the import of British textiles or by reducing the cost of production by grant of subsidies, introduction of mechanical process of production and other possible devices. By this law of might is right and the survival of the fittest the Indian textile industry and the famous art of printing not only suffered a tremendous eclipse but were also put on the road to ruin. However, they could not be completely destroyed by 1813, as the production in England was limited, cost of production was not very low, the English products were inferior in excellence and were not suited to Indian requirements, the purchasing power of the Indian people was considerably low, the system of money exchange had not become popular in the villages and the conservatism of the people continued to show preference for home products.

Dr. Buchanan witnessed great suffering caused to the spinners by the progressive diminution of demand for fine textiles. In the production of coarse cloth there was not much decrease as it was meant mostly for local consumption. However, on account of the beginning of competition with foreign textiles in the Indian market, the margin of profit on the sale of coarse cloth was much narrowed. Spinning and weaving no longer remained profitable, as they had been a hundred years back. Still they continued to be the principal national industries of India. Production of silk fabrics for foreign markets was practically at an end. Its place was taken by the production of raw silk which was improved by the import of silk-worms from China. With all these disadvantages to India and advantages to England, if the principle of free trade had been uniformly applied, the Indian industries would not have suffered much at least for a few decades. Ultimately, nothing short of mechanization could have prevented the great disaster. But it was not in the programme of the East India Company. In the words of H. H. Wilson, the British manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms. Millions of Indian artisans lost their earnings and the population of India lost one great source of wealth.

With the loss of political independence and in the absence of patronage, the ship-building industry of India also declined. The small navies of the Marathas and Mysore were destroyed by the East India Company during war times as a political measure. By the end of the administration of Warren Hastings there were no naval ships owned by any Indian Power. However, ship-building industry lingered on for some time till the East Indian Company started working strictly on the principle of using British transport alone for commercial purposes and stopped the practice of building ships in India with Indian material or purchasing Indian ships or using Indian ships on hire for transport of merchandise. This new policy of virtual ban on the use of Indian ships, coupled with the transfer of foreign and coastal trade to the company, caused havoc to the Indian ship-building industry. The only redeeming feature as a result of British connections with India during this period was that jute, saltpetre and indigo industries recorded slight progress and acquired foreign market.

The passing of the Charter Act of 1813 marked another stage in the history of the British impact on Indian industries. It abolished the East India Company's monopoly of trade with India and laid her open for free and unfettered exploitation by every enterprising British trader. It provided necessary conditions for the rush of British products into India. It allowed Englishmen to have access to India and a right to have vested interests in a restricted sense. With the disappearance of the Napoleonic peril in 1815, this process was speeded up. Consequently innumerable enterprising Englishmen, in their zeal for enrichment, came to India as traders, planters and investors. Agents of several business houses of Liverpool and other places came and set up their business in India and kept the market over-stocked. The real impact of European capitalism upon India began then. The process of economic exploitation, begun by the Industrial Revolution, was considerably accelerated. The textile industries of India recorded a progressive decline. This phase was well marked after the passing of the Charter Act of 1833 when the free entry of Englishmen into India and acquisition of property by them were decreed, and the East India Company ceased to be a commercial body. No stone was left unturned to capture the Indian market.

The digest of evidence collected on the eve of the passing of the Charter Act of 1813 indicates the great anxiety shown to capture the entire market of India for British products, and the anxious enquiries made as to how this object could be achieved. Reasons for the unpopularity of the British textiles in India were found out. In order to cater to the needs of India and to make the British textiles attractive for her, information was collected about the designs, styles, colour patterns and combinations of the Indian textiles and tastes, fashions and requirements of her people. Popular designs and colour schemes were wrung out of the Indian artists. The artisans were made to divulge their trade secrets and various techniques and processes of bleaching and dyeing. Later on, in the middle of the 19th century, specimens of all important textiles of India were collected in several sets of eighteen large volumes containing about 700 pieces in all. They were exhibited in London in 1853 and placed within the easy reach of the manufacturers in England and their agents in India for ready reference.

Besides these measures, attempts were made to create among the upper and middle classes tastes for English products and English manners, and habits in respect of dress and way of life. The ruling classes set fashions and others copied them. The expansion of English education, the spread of Christianity, the rise of a new middle class, the growing contacts with the Europeans and the rise in the number of government employees tended to Anglicise the manners, habits and modes of thought of the people. On account of this change Holt Mackenzie noticed a marked tendency among the Indians to indulge in English luxuries. This was responsible for the rapid increase in demand for the British products in the towns among the upper and middle classes. Others had to buy reluctantly the cheapest goods in the market due to the compelling force of adverse financial circumstances. In these changed circumstances, it was impossible for the Indian consumer to remain indifferent to the cheap goods in the market.

The export trade of India in respect of her finished products declined rapidly after 1813. The charts given in the Parliamentary Reports of 1833 and 1853 indicate the metamorphosis that India underwent in the field of her industries during the first half of the 19th century, at the end of which was tolled the death knell of her glory in textiles. The charts of custom duties on various articles reveal a highly discriminating tariff policy which was continued much to the detriment of India, till she became a non-entity in the industrial field. A petition against this apparent injustice, signed by 117 Indians of great respectability and sent to the Privy Council in 1831 for righteous consideration, with a request to be admitted to the privilege of British subjects in respect of trade irrespective of sect, country or colour, was rejected. Similarly, a letter addressed by some London merchants to the Court of Directors for placing the trades of England and India on a reciprocal basis evoked no response. Besides this, in India itself the discriminatory internal transit duties worked as no less a handicap to the Indian industries. Sir Charles Trevelyan, Frederick Shore and Henry George Tucker have pictured this phase in their accounts and have indicated the baneful effect of it on India's manufactures and trade. Shore rightly predicted: 'If this be continued much longer, India will ere long produce nothing but food just sufficient for her population, a few coarse earthen wares to cook it in and a few coarse clothes to cover their bodies. Only remove this incubus, and the tables will very soon be turned.' Later on, when the internal duties were abolished in the various provinces, between 1836 and 1844, in order to facilitate the expansion of market for British products, the Indian industries could not take advantage of it, as they were already crippled beyond redemption. The open-door policy put them to great disadvantage and drove them away completely from the markets. While suggesting that the British policy of *laissez faire* was at least beneficial to the Indian consumer, Sir P. Griffiths has ignored the soaring unemployment in India, growing poverty in the country, curtailment in the sources of income of the consumer, rise in the price of food grains and the ruinous effect of the great drain of wealth from India to England which were the great evils caused by the defective British commercial policy. They tended to break the economic backbone of the Indian industries.

During this third period of British impact on Indian industries, textile industries as well as a number of handicrafts suffered all over India. The presidencies of Bengal and Madras no longer remained in the industrial field. In the different centres of the Bombay presidency such as Poona, Ahmedabad, Nasik, Burhanpur, Sholapur and other places, the decline that had been going on rapidly since 1818 led to the total eclipse of textile production by the sixties. Similar was the fate of Mysore and Southern India after Bentinck's time. The Indian piece-goods ceased to be competitive. They were displaced by the British textiles. Production of fine textiles was practically dead. Only in the remote centres, coarse cloth was produced for internal use. In this economic struggle between the enslaved India and independent England, which was essentially an unequal competition between the craftsman's handloom and the capitalists' machine, the unprotected handloom was naturally uprooted. This general industrial decline caused by the adverse economic impact of England on India was also noticed in the fields of embroidery enamelled and filigree works, ivory carving, lacquer work, and manufactures of arms, shields and accoutrement. With the introduction of machine in the hemp manufacturing industry of Scotland after 1830 and the adoption of the *laissez faire* policy by England the jute industry of India also had a great depressing period continuing for several decades. The Scottish products captured the entire foreign jute market whch was till then in Indian hands. The character of the Indian foreign trade was thus fundamentally altered. Import of finished products and export of raw materials increased.

This changed commercial status of India, forced upon her by the British impact, caused considerable economic distress to her. Martin and Trevelyan have painted a graphic picture of this change. Millions of Indo-British subjects were totally ruined and were forced to seek subsistence by labour, however rough and unremunerative, while thousands of them perished for want of employment. Weavers were thrown on the over-assessed land to eke out a miserable existence. The cultivators and fishermen lost their useful auxiliary vocations. The grandeur and opulence of the thriving centres of production and trade passed into a legend. Dacca, the great manufacturing metropolis of Bengal and the Manchester of India, had decayed. The Indian handloom was irreparably broken. The spinning wheel went out of use. The manufacturing skill of the country disappeared and her people became either producers of raw materials and food grains or miserable wage-earners. The pivots of the economic structure of society were no more. The village system disintegrated. Old towns lost their importance and villages became crowded with semi-employed or unemployed persons.

Agriculture also suffered due to over assessment of land revenue and merciless mode of collection. Due to the loss of the subsidiary sources of income, improvement in agriculture could not be effected by the peasantry. Total output from land declined. The characteristic features of the new economic life in India such as the commercialization of agriculture, the decline of handicrafts, the progressive ruralisation of India, the increased pressure of population on land, the fragmentation of holdings, the disintegration of village communities and the increased poverty and rural indebtedness became important factors in the causation of recurrent famines after the thirties of the 19th century, and most particularly in the post-mutiny period. According to Karl Marx, the misery inflicted by the British on Hindustan was of an essentially different and infinitely more intensive kind than the country had suffered ever before. The Indian industrial glory was completely eclipsed. The traditional combination of agriculture and manufacturing industry was broken. On the constructive side in the field of industry, practically no contribution was made by the East India Company for more than ninety years. Against these bitter fruits of colonial economy of England, the dispossessed India reacted violently in 1857.

In another sphere one of the important aspects of the British impact on industry was the great influx of British capital into India, its investment in the large-scale production of commercial articles and the working of English enterprise in India for the exploitation of her rich natural resources. The European owned and controlled plantation industries which created new British vested interests in India come under this category. These industries were partly agricultural and partly manufacturing. They gave employment to the Indian labour, but were exempted from the ordinary labour laws. They were of two types. Firstly, those in which both agricultural and manufacturing aspects were entirely in European hands. Secondly, those in which the agricultural part was in Indian hands and the manufacturing part was in European hands. In the case of the first ones, like tea and coffee, the Indian labour employed was paid only subsistence wages and was miserably exploited in a number of ways. In the case of the second ones, like indigo, saltpetre, opium and others, the prices of raw materials were dictated by the English buyers. In this case, the evils of the advance system adopted by the planters were most conspicuous. Having taken the advance the indigo and the poppy plant growers and the saltpetre collectors could hardly free themselves from the 'cash nexus'. In all plantation industries, the net profits from their industrial parts were exclusively engrossed by the European capitalists with the result that the economic drain multiplied and exploitation of the economic resources of India for the benefit of England became more acute. With few exceptions most of the plantation industries were started after 1813 and became well-established after the Charter Act of 1833. This aspect of British impact indicates its constructive side in a very limited sense. It was intended to be beneficial primarily to England and only incidentally to India in the form of a source of employment to labour, however unremunerative. The plantations undoubtedly became a potential source of income for the European planters in the post-mutiny period, while the labour conditions in plantations were marked by great hardships. The Indian cultivator received hardly enough to make both ends meet. Moreover, the rise of the indigo industry in Bengal and Bihar under the planter's patronage right from the days of Plassey gave a death-blow to the Gujerat indigo industry, and in this new industry the tyranny of the indigo planters was so great that it has found place in the regional literature of Bengal.

The other so-called constructive aspect of the British impact on industry was the commercialization of agriculture. Under the changed political and economic condition of India and the rising demand for raw materials in England, this new development was inevitable. It catered principally to the needs and interests of the English factory industries. To the Indian cultivators it supplied a new scope and better returns. But the neglect in the production of food grains that ensued from it and the consequent scarcities of food and recurrence of famines in quick succession in various parts of India reveal the darker sides of this new phase in the economic life of India.

In the second half of the 19th century British impact on industry was not a wholesome evil. It contained seeds of a new industrial life which sprouted very slowly on account of unfavourable political climate and antagonistic vested interests of England. When the Charter Act of 1833 opened the way for the import of capital into India for greater economic exploitation, time seemed propitious for a sort of pseudo and basically outward industrial revolution in India under British control and management. Several enterprising Europeans introduced machines in industries like indigo, jute, silk and cotton. The rudiments of European enterprise in establishing textile, reeling, ginning and pressing factories worked by mechanical appliances in Calcutta, Broach, Pondicherry and other places revealed to India the key to the success of Great Britain in the industrial field. As a result of this British contact, the glorious industrial tradition of the past and the latent spirit of commercial enterprise were roused to fruitful achievements in the field of new textile industry with the surplus British machinery, technical skill and management. The new setups, sprung up with the European impact, necessitated the rise of basic industries like coal and iron, of which the former developed slowly and the latter came very late.

The new industrial life could not have come into existence without Great Britain's help, and her support was equally in her own interest. Her surplus machines and capital needed markets. The latter had already started coming to India in so many forms, particularly for the construction of Railways on a guarantee system. Her technicians needed better and more lucrative employment. India provided a very rich and convenient field for all these constituents of modern industrial make-up in the post-mutiny period, when she was under the Crown. Unlike the former period of industrial decline, this new period can be called a period of economic development, although in a very limited sense. During this period, the British influence and example in the sphere of industrial activities were well marked. The true import of this new phase was perceptible in 1854, when the first Indian enterprise was started by C. N. Davar, at Bombay. This marked the beginning of the fourth stage in the history of British impact on Indian industries.

With the dawn of this new phase in the economic history and industrial life of India the entire paraphernalia of western industrialism was gradually implanted. The concept of large-scale production with mechanical skill, localisation of industries at industrially convenient centres, division of labour with indispensible technical skill, industrial organization based on the Managing Agency System, modern technique of banking, improvement in the systems of transport, distribution and exchange, use of steam-power and electricity and western methods in the coal mining industry emerged with the surging tide of industrialism. New classes in society such as a capitalist class, a trading middle class and a class of factory labour came into existence. Similarly, labour problem, factory legislation, labour unrest, trade unionism and communist thought gradually came up. New industrial towns and commercial centres rose into prominence. In course of time three kinds of factories were found in India, (1) factories entirely owned by Europeans (2) factories owned by Europeans and Indians jointly and (3) factories owned by Indians and managed by foreign managing agents. These fruits of industrial revolution were not indigenous to India. They, therefore, increased India's dependence on England. Hence, the economic development of India was useful to England also for a considerable period.

The new trend in industry had vast potentialities in India. Textile mills began to multiply in number. Left with an unfettered growth they would have taken gigantic strides in the quickest possible time. But the growth of this product of British impact could not remain unnoticed by the jealous eyes of the British manufacturing interests which exerted their powerful influence to cripple the industrial babies. They influenced the policy of the Government. Consequently, England accorded step-motherly treatment to India, as she had no interest in developing those industrial productions for which she had a safe market in India. The Government of India faithfully carried out this policy by adopting a cold-blooded, indifferent and unsympathetic, if not positively hostile, attitude. Her defective railway-freight policy, her reluctance to introduce and develop heavy industries and technical education and her invidious tariff measures were the expressions of that policy. The Manchester manipulations of different kinds, appearing sometimes in the garb of an assumed philanthropy, began to influence the factory legislation, the system of excise duties on Indian textile products and the exchange ratio between the British pound and the Indian rupee, and ultimately, after the first world war, they appeared in the form of the policy of Imperial Preference. These factors arrested the industrial development of India. The economic history of India from the time of the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton to 1947 was, in fact, a story of the struggle for Indian industries against the disguised British attempts to retard them. In the words of Dada Bhai Naoroji, free trade between England and India was something like a race between a starving and exhautsed invalid and a strong man with a horse to ride on'. Only such industries as were non-existent in England like jute, tea, coffee, manganese and a few others were given adequate encouragement. But, for a very long time, they remained in British hands and enriched the British coffers.

In these adverse circumstances the infant industries of India needed careful patronage. The protectionist policy, which became the most essential prerequisite for the rapid industrial advancement of India, continued to be denied to her. However, much to the astonishment of the English vested interests, the Indian textile industry tided over all difficulties. In spite of harassments, the new industries continued their progress although at times it remained remarkably slow. A number of historical and geographical forces helped in their struggle or existence and ensured their survival, although they had to face great storms. The growing national consciousness in India, the movements of swadeshi, boycott and non-co-operation, the freedom struggle, the two world wars and the international developments, the cheapness of raw materials, the abundant supply of cheap labour, the low economic standards of the people, the great distance between England and India and the consequent heavy transport charges on the export of raw materials from India to England and import of England's finished products into India were the most powerful factors counteracting the apparently insuperable handicaps. Moreover, England was interested in encouraging the cultivation of cotton in India for her own factories and in selling her own surplus machines to her without showing any inclination to favour the production of machine parts and fine textile goods in India. These conflicting economic interests of England and India made the industrial development of India lop-sided, halting, haphazard and unbalanced. After World War I, due to the great force of public opinion, the war babies (industries sprung up during war time) had to be nourished by the government, however reluctantly and with whatever degree of discrimination.

This fruitful period of India's economic history was also a period of great trial. While the industries, sprung up as a result of the western impact, slowly but steadily shaped themselves and steered their course clear of all shoals, those of long standing perished for want of protection. With the introduction of machinery in almost all the industries and the change in fashions the old-fashioned handloom industries, the handicrafts, the metal works, the paper industry and several others could not stand competition with the machine-made goods. Hence, the handicraft stage passed off completely. With the introduction of the synthetic dye in Germany, the prosperous indigo industry of India suffered a great set back. The cheap supply of nitrates from Chile, after 1860, brought about rapid decline of the foreign trade of India in saltpetre. The import of cheap Java sugar closed the era of the traditionally prosperous sugar industry of India. With the expansion of the railways and roads, the river transport went out of vogue and the boat-making industry practically ended. The new chrome process of tanning crippled the indigenous tanning industry towards the end of the 19th century. With the decline of the silk industry of Khandesh and the Deccan, the gold thread industry of Poona and Nasik could not survive. A number of subsidiary industries like dyeing, calico-printing and others met with a similar fate. Only those handicrafts survived which could withstand competition with the factory products. Even the village tanner, potter, blacksmith, workers on other metals, oil pressers and others suffered a lot due to the increased vogue of the machine-made products even in the remotest parts of the country. The railways accelerated this trend. While the process of driving out people from their old crafts and industrial moorings was proceeding apace during all these years, the growth of new industries to absorb the displaced persons was in no sense proportionate.

By 1880 the chief industries in India were cotton, jute and coal-mining. Gold-mining industry under British control flourished in Mysore after 1885. Leather, paper and woollen textile industries progressed afterwards. Iron, manganese, oil and mica industries came up in the early part of the 20th century. The modern sugar industry is the product of the post-World-War period. Chemical and machine industries were the last to come. Government did not take any initiative in developing key industries. Heavy industries remained completely unthought of. Technical education was started towards the end of the 19th century, under pressure of public opinion and strong criticism of the government but its progress remained extremely slow.

Small industries like match, umbrella, button, carpet and others came into existence in their rudimentary forms in the first decade of the 20th century. Similarly paper, glass, soap, artificial silk, furniture, hosiery, pottery, dairy, poultry-farming and matting industries came up in the post-World-War period. Exploitation of the mineral resources of the country for obtaining raw materials also increased. Gradually machines were introduced almost in every industry. Flour mills and oil presses sprang up. Metal wares began to be produced with the help of machines.

Co-operative system of organization was introduced in small industries. Co-operative societies, co-operative stores, co-operative banks and co-operative system of production slowly began to be established on European patterns. In certain parts of India the handloom industry felt the impact of the new innovations and machine-made yarn began to be used by the flying shuttles. Several new industrial centres came into prominence. With the progress of industries, commercial towns and urban life became important features of Indian socio-economic life. In the sphere of the agricultural industry, the new impact resulted in the production of money crops for commercial purposes because of their cash value. Introduction of machines in agricultural production was only an exceptional feature. It remained confined to government agricultural farms.

All through the British rule in India, the government had no plan for the industrial and agricultural development. The arrested economic development has been the real cause of her poverty. Neglect of agricultural economy and apathy to industrial development were the most notable features of the British rule in India. To cap the climax, the imperial wars were fought at India's expense. Hence, she could not develop her stature in the industrial world as it would otherwise have done.

The new industrial life led to the general deterioration of village communities and continued scarcities of food. Disruption of village life, rural indebtedness and inadequate attention to village problems constituted the main aspects of the impact of new forces. In the towns the new industries increased the amenities of life and created a tendency among the educated and resourceful persons to migrate from the villages to the towns and to supervise their village interests from there indirectly with the help of paid servants. This made matters worse in the villages.

The industrial evolution of India brought about a cosmic change in the sense of values and a clear transformation in economic life, standards and ideas. The socio-economic background by which the economic ideas were conditioned in India on the eve of the British conquest progressively changed and the innumerable new forces that were at work under the British regime gave rise to the new ones which are found enshrined in the writings of Dada Bhai Naoroji, G. K. Gokhale and R. C. Dutta. Their writings amounted to a marked protest against the economic injustice to India and a strong exhortation to remove it. The *laissez faire* ideal was considered to be good for the countries which stood on equal economic levels and not for India in relation to England. Hence, a policy of protection was advocated as a temporary expedient. The concept of colonial economy which was perpetuating poverty was assailed. Greater production, greater return of wealth to the country and larger national income were treated as an index of a country's prosperity. Great emphasis was laid on the economic development of the country. The system of imperialist exploitation was adversely criticized and the nature and effects of the economic drain were exposed. The Indian candle was found burning at both the ends from the economic point of view. These ideas indicated the beginning of an integrated approach to the Indian economic problems. They showed growth of economic consciousness and awareness of obstructions in the way of industrialization of India.

Economic thinking in India was largely concerned with its practical economic problems, and it revolved round the unsatisfactory, irresponsible and at times an entirely defective approach of the Government of India. The new economic ideas grew up from the time of the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon and continued to develop round the congress. They strengthened the forces of nationalism in India by propounding the concept of national economy and challenged the entire basis of foreign administration. The privileged position of the foreigners in India was termed as the most formidable obstacle to the growth of the industrial capitalism in India on which depended her industrial development. The nature of the economic impact of the west on Indian industries, therefore, depended on her ability and capacity to react to the new forces.

Life in Rājasthān in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

(*as depicted in the Kānhaḍadeprabandha*)

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The *Kānhaḍadeprabandha* of Padmanābha is one of the most interesting source-books of Rājpūt history, political as well as cultural. Written in V. 1512 (1455 A.D.), it deals with the historic struggle between Alāuddīn Khaljī of Delhi and the Sonigarās of Jālor in Western Rājasthān; and unlike Muslim histories of the times which are mostly bare chronicles of political events, it delineates not only the life-story of the Sonigarā heroes, Kānhaḍade and Sātala, but also gives a life-like picture of the society of which they were typical representatives. One thing, however, should be remembered, when utilising the material from the *Kānhaḍadeprabandha*. As it was written nearly one hundred and fifty years after the actual occurrence of the events described therein, it is not unlikely that these may have got coloured to a certain extent by the conditions, beliefs and customs of the fifteenth century. This distortion, however, is much less than it could have been, if Padmanābha had not based his story on old and probably contemporary chronicles to which he had easy access as a court-poet of the Sonigarā ruler, Akhairāja, who was a direct descendant of Kānhaḍade and ruled at Jālor in 1455 A.D.[1]

Hindu society at bay

The poem begins with a very good word-picture of Gujarāt and of a culture the existence of which was soon going to be threatened not only by the vaulting and insatiable ambition of Alāudīn Khaljī, but also by the insane actions of Karṇa Vāghelā, the last independent Hindu ruler of Gujarāt, and the almost equally insane determination of his chief minister, Mādhava, to avenge the wrongs, to which he and his family had been subjected, by bringing Muslim armies to Gujarāt.[2] In this land the people had so far worshipped the sacred Śāligrāma stone symbolising Viṣṇu, meditated on the name of Hari, offered Vedic sacrifices, given money in charity to the Brāhmaṇas, adored the sacred *tulasī* plant and the *pīpal* tree, studied the Vedas, *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas,* and respected the sanctity of cows.[3] Kānhaḍade, the ruler of Jālor, a kingdom which adjoined Gujarāt, who is the hero of our poem, refused the Khaljī armies permission to march through his territories on the way to their attack on Gujarāt, because wherever these armies went they sacked towns, burnt villages, tore away ornaments from the ears of women and brought misery to cows as well as Brāhmaṇas by using the cows as food and insulting, robbing and even carrying away the latter as captives and slaves.[4]

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[1] *Kānhaḍadeprabandha* (abbreviated below as *KP*), IV, 334-339.

That Kānhaḍade's fears were not unjustified is proved by the description, in the poem, of the events that followed in the wake of the Khaljī conquest of Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra. Mosques took the place of temples. The Khaljī troopers looted gold and silver, everything valuable in fact that they could lay hands on, destroyed standing crops, burnt even poor cattle and took away thousands of men, women and children as captives from the conquered territories.[5] They defiled tanks with the blood of cows and desecrated temples. It was obvious that tthe Hindus had to fight, if they were to preserve their way of life.

The Rājpūts

In the Rājpūts Hindu society had one of its virile sections which lacked neither the courage nor the necessary will to fight against its adversaries. Bataḍa of Moḍāsā died a hero's death.[6] The Rājpūt clans of the Jeṭhavās, Valās and Chūḍāsāmās fought well, though without achieving any success.[7] When the Khaljīs reached the temple of Somanātha, after capturing the fort of Devapaṭṭana, the Rājpūts inside the town bathed, put the sacred *tulasī* leaves on their heads and fought against the enemy with desperate valour. Even the Hindu abbots of the temple rushed on their elephants into the thickest of the fight. The Khaljīs certainly had no walk-over.[8]

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[2] *KP*, I, 24-27.

[3] I, 15-17.

[4] I, 32-33. Reference may be made also to the account of the Khaljī attack on Bhīnmāl.

[5] I, 103-104.

[6] I, 52-56.

[7] I, 81-92.

When the Khaljī army marched back towards Delhi, intoxicated with pride and laden with rich booty, Kānhaḍade vowed not to touch any food until he succeeded in liberating the Hindu prisoners. His raid on the Muslim camp at night was well-planned and well-executed. For years Kānhaḍade fought on against the mightiest of the Sultāns of Delhi, not only because he was backed by his own people but also by other Rājpūt clans who must have regarded Jālor almost as a symbol of independent Rājasthān. Once and again they responded to Kānhaḍade's call for succour, and if Jālor fell ultimately, the fall was not primarily due to any lack of backing either by his people or his friends.[9]

The *Kānhaḍadeprabandha* disproves the view that the Rājpūts knew only to fight with headlong valour and had no idea of strategy and tactics. In Kānhaḍade's night raid on the Khaljī camp at Sirāṇā, while one division of the army moved from the eastern side, carrying torches, sounding war-drums and making the greatest possible noise, another starting from the western side and constituting probably the main part of the raiding party reached almost unobserved the wooden palisade of the Muslim camp, attacked and destroyed it, and took the Muslim army in the rear. So sudden was the attack and so quickly did it develop that the enemy did not know how to meet it. The Khaljī general, Ulūgh Khān, fled but many of his followers were slain and the news of his discomfiture was received with sorrow and anger at Delhi.[10] At Siwānā Sātalade's army adopted guerilla tactics. "Tha Rājpūts attacked", writes Padmanābha, "like *vānaras* (monkeys) and then having done so rushed back into the fort'.[11] At night they made surprise attacks, and in the day-time they led sorties which were supported by bombarding from the catapults in the fort.[12] At Mertā, the Rājpūt army divided itself into eight divisions and attacking from various directions the Muslim contingent commanded by Shams Khān annihilated it. When the Khaljī army besieged Jālor, Kānhaḍade sent his younger brother, Mālade, to Āmer, hoping thereby probably to divert a part of the Muslim forces from before the walls of the beleaguered fort. His own sorties also had success and for some time the Muslim forces were genuinely afraid of being caught between the two Rājpūt forces, one commanded by Mālade and the other operating from the fort of Jālor.[13] It was only the dead weight of numbers which finally tilted the balance in the Khaljīs' favour; and even then the end of the siege came not so much through any exceptional generalship of the Muslims as through treachery in Kānhaḍade's fort itself.[14]

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[8] I, 87-88.

[9] See Kānhaḍadeva's history in our *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp. 158-170.

[10] I, 197-223; II, 1-15.

[11] II, 113.

The Rājpūts understood well the art of fortification. The turrets, battlements, fortified gateways, reservoirs of water, granaries, armouries, catapults and *maghribis* of Jālor could not but impress the enemy, and Padmanābha may not be wrong in comparing it favourably with some other strong forts of India like Gwālior, Chitor, Chāmpāner, Māṇḍogarh, Sāler and Mūler.[15] But like most hill-forts it had two weak points. It was dependent for its supply of water ultimately on rain,[16] and on the side of Kānhamer there was a track which could be negotiated by a hostile force, if it only knew it.[17] The equally strong fort of Siwānā surrendered, because its great reservoir was defiled by the Muslims and the god-fearing Hindus had not any other source of water left.[18]

The Rājpūts showed the best side of their character in adversity. To die on the battlefield, to go to *dhārā-tīrtha* (the sacred site of the edge of a sword), as Padmanābha puts it, and to be specially one of the party perishing in the last sortie from a beleaguered fort was the ambition of many.[19] It was meritorious

[12] II, 113-4.
[13] IV, 174-175.
[14] IV, 181-185.
[15] IV, 5-8, 33-35.
[16] IV, 121, 149-151.
[17] IV, 200-201.
[18] II, 155-157.
[19] IV, 283-284, 290: III, 175.

also to die in the defence of women and one's faith.[20] Sātala, we are told, was happy to have his fort attacked by a strong ruler like Alāuddīn.[21] Kānhaḍadeva felt unhappy at the idea that the Muslim army would raise the siege and depart without giving him the coveted chance of acting like Hammīra of Ranthambhor.[22] When the Khaljī army reached Siwānā, Sātala threw out, as it were, a challenge to it, by holding a *darbār* and having dramatic spectacles within sight and bow-shot of the enemy.[23] Kānhaḍade illumined the besieged fort, decking it with multi-coloured silken flags, the fluttering of which in the Sun gave it a rare beauty, and also with *maṇḍapas* adorned with festoons and pendents of pearls. From every direction floated sweet strains of music. On every attic there was some play or theatrical show.[24]

Nor was this mere bravado. When the defilement of the main tank of Siwāna made further resistance impossible, Sātala worshipped Śāligrāma, prayed to Rāma, bathed, combed his hair, put on a rosary of sacred *tulasī* beads, opened the gates of the fort and marched out against Alāuddin's army with a band of his devoted followers.[25] At Jālor, when the treachery of one of its inmates, brought the Khaljīs into the fort, wave after wave of Kānhaḍade's warriors tried to throw out the enemy. But, finding this impossible they consigned their women to the flames and began their last desperate fight against the enemy. The names of the cowards who deserted Kānhaḍade at this juncture are carefully listed by Padmanābha and held up to eternal obloquy. Only the most willing were expected to join the *Śākā*;[26] for others there was a side-gate, the *dharmadvāra*, by which they could escape unobserved, though also unwept and unsung.[27]

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[20] I, 92; III, 113.
[21] II, 107.
[22] III, 115-121.
[23] II, 115-121.
[24] III, 149-157.
[25] II, 161-167.

[26] The last fight put up by Rājpūt besieged garrison was called *Śākā*. According to the *Indraprasthaprabandha*, verses 26-27, a battle could be called a *Śākā*, if 5525525 people died in it. This, certainly, is a very much exaggerated estimate.

[27] IV, 283, 286, 266. See also the account of the last fight of Hammira in the *Hammīramahākāvya*.

We can easily detect many feudal elements in the set-up of the Rājpūt states. Kānhaḍade is described as the master of Jālor and many other (crown-) lands (IV. 38). His personal servants received their pay in kind. Solankī, Vāghelā, Rāṭhor, Chāvaḍā, Hūṇa, Yādava, Paramāra and Guhila chiefs, who served Kānhaḍade, had big *jāgīrs* in his State. Like the knights of medieval Europe they lived grandly, with the best of arms and armour, swords with gold hilts, daggers studded with gems, long spears and scabbards covered with silk. Their turbans were multi-coloured and garments splendid and costly. At the royal table they had the best of food, *sev, suhālī, laḍḍū, māṇḍā,* fried *pappaḍs, khājā, sālan, baḍī, lapsikā* of the *pañchadhārī* variety, *kansār, dhān* and many other delicious dishes.[28]

This feudal set-up was partly a creation of the needs of the period. In the troublous times through which the Hindus were passing, it was necessary to make everybody interested in the defence of Rājasthān; and this could best be done by making the Rajpūt warriors co-partners of the ruler in his adversity as well as prosperity. In case they came out victorious in their struggle against an enemy, they could become masters of new lands; if they failed, they lost as much as the ruler, or perhaps a little more, for their *jāgīrs* were not unoften situated near the boundaries of the State or in those parts which were easily vulnerable. Nationalism alone could have rendered such a system unnecessary; and nationalism, in the sense we now understand it, did not exist in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Under this system the ruler could, in times of danger, muster a strong force almost at a moment's notice. When Ulūgh Khān passed through Mārwār, on his way back to Delhi from Gujarāt, Kānhaḍade's *jāgīrdārs* rallied to his support.[29] When he determined to avenge the Khaljī sack of Bhīnmāl, there was a similar rally. The officer in charge of the *Śrī-karaṇa* took out his ledger and distributed horses in *bārgirī,* assigning horses of different colours to different chiefs.[30] Many other similar occasions are mentioned in the *prabandha;* and the task of the State appears to have been all the easier, because the soldiers brought their own weapons, *jarahjīṇ, jīvansāl, jīvarakhī, aṅgarakhī, karangī, vajrangī* and *lohaguḍī.*[31]

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[28] IV, 43-51. The food-preparations named here are in common use in North India even now.

[29] I, 183-191. Read also the *Bhaṭāvalī* that follows.

[30] III, 40, 41-58. In a period when there was no branding of horses, colour must have served as the needed distinguishing feature.

If Padmanābha's account be believed, a high sense of loyalty and chivalry characterised the Rājpūt warrior who prided himself not only on his valour but also on being *paranārī-sahodara, i.e.* a brother to the wives of others. He detested attacking a fallen enemy, regarding him as good as dead.[32] Kānhaḍade is represented as receiving his enemy's daughter with all honour and not only as giving her rich presents but at her request even promising not to attack the Muslim forces at night.[33] Neither temples nor women were safe when the invading Muslim forces marched through a Rājpūt kingdom. The Rājpūts had their victories, but they gave good treatment to captured Muslim women and girls and won respect for their valour even from their bitterest foes.

But whatever we may say of the individual Rājpūt, we have to criticise his system of fighting. An army of irregulars, fighting under their own chiefs, lacked that necessary discipline and cohesion which are necessary for success in any long-range operation. After their victory at Khūḍalī, some of Kānhaḍade's soldiers pursued the flying Muslims; others entered the camp and looted it. The majority of the Rājpūt soldiers gallopped back to Jālor; but others threw all caution to the winds and remained behind to bathe in a pond because it was the sacred *amāvasyā* day. Here they were attacked by the main Muslim force under Malik Nāib and almost slaughtered to a man. Of the splendid Rājpūt force which had marched out of Jālor in the morning four thousand lay dead on the field by afternoon. Not a single soldier survived even to carry the sad tale to Kānhaḍade.[34]

Another defect of the Rājpūt military machine is equally obvious. Being summoned occasionally and for some specific purpose, the irregular Rājpūt troopers dispersed as soon as the immediate objective was achieved. They could not possibly remain away for long from their hearths and homes. They had also their own lands to cultivate and defend, for border affrays and raids were not by any means uncommon. These raw levies, mustering on the spur of the moment and dispersing even before a long-continued military action put them into proper shape, could not have been the best means of fighting against a determined, better organised, and fanatical foe.

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[31] See *KP*, p. 47 (Rājasthan Purātattva Mandir edition).
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.
[33] III, 236-237; 246-247.
[34] III, 112-113.

Brāhmaṇas

Among the Brāhmaṇas of Western Rājasthān, the Śrīmālīs stood the foremost. "They were like 45,000 gods incarnate. Tireless in their studies, they knew the four Vedas, the six *aṅgas*, eight systems of grammar, fourteen *vidyās*, eighteen *Purāṇas*, *āyurveda*, *Bhārata-*(*nāṭya*), music, astronomy and astrology, metrics, *bāji*, *nāṭaka* and many other arts and sciences. Here in every house the Śrīmālīs had *agnihotras* and *āvasathas*. They understood well scriptural thought and injunctions and performed *ṣaṭkarma* every day. In their sacrifices, they apportioned correctly the shares due to Indra and other gods". Even when informed of the imminent danger of a Khaljī attack, they thought of milking their cows and performing the *homa* ceremony before leaving Bhīnmāl.[35] Similarly at Jālor there were Brāhmaṇas who studied the Vedas, the Purāṇas, and *śāstras* and indulged in various academic pursuits and pastimes.[36] *Purohita* Somachandra was Kānhaḍade's most trusted counsellor. Learned in *jyotiṣa*, *nimittaśāstra* and other *vidyās*, he had courage as well as presence of mind and stood by his master to the end. Even when *Kānhaḍade* was no more, this tradition of respect towards Brāhmaṇas continued, and we find Kānhaḍade's great-grandson's grandson, Akhairāja, offering sacrifices with the assistance of the Brāhmanas and listening to the *Purāṇas*.[37]

Vaiśyas

The Vaiśyas in the kingdom of Jālor were divided as now into various sections. Its Śrāvakas and Māheśvarīs, professing respectively Jaina and Brāhmaṇa faiths, *Dasās* and *Bīsās*, traded in various commodities, cereals, spices and gems. They traded with foreign lands, using both overland and sea-routes.[38] When the protracted siege of Jālor brought about shortage of provisions in the royal stores, they argreed voluntarily to provide Kānhaḍade with wheat, rice, pulses, *ghī*, oil, cloth, fuel, *agaru*, sandal, buttermilk, *guḍa* and *tappaḍa*.[39] The relations between the ruling and commercial classes at Jālor must obviously have been good.

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[35] III, 23-31.

[36] IV, 9-10.

[37] IV, 336-339.

Śūdras

The Śūdras were divided into many castes and sub-castes which appear to have originated on account of the difference in their professions. Thus Jālor had *paṭavās, sālavīs, kaṁsārās, lohaṭiās, tambolis, mālīs* and dealers in paper, weapons and horses. Socially lower than them were probably the *Ghānchīs, Suīs, Suthārs, Chhīpās, Teramās*—the *kārūs* and *nārūs*—the collective term for whom was *aṭhārah varṇa*, i.e., eighteen classes.[40] Included in this category were probably also *naṭas, gāyanas*, and *nagara-nāyikās*;[41] and the eighteen *varṇas* may have been, as pointed elsewhere by us, the medieval representatives of the eighteen *śrenīs* or guilds mentioned in Buddhist works.[42] As in that earlier period, these so-called *varṇas* met separately in the fourteenth century also and transacted their business (IV.2). It was with anguish in their hearts that they bade farewell to their popular ruler Kānhaḍade. To their women honour was as dear as to the Rājput ladies; and they threw themselves as unhesitatingly into the *jauhar* fires.

Women

Chivalry as pointed out above, was a part of the Rājpūt creed, and this chivalrous behaviour was extended to all to whichever caste they might belong. The women's code of honour was even higher, for they braved the fires of *jauhar* and became *satīs*. Perhaps it was this period of political trouble which made the custom of *satī* more popular than before, for none liked them to fall into the hands of the Muslim captors or live unprotected. At least in no earlier period is the recorded number of *satīs* so great. The poet, Padmanābha, makes even the Muslim princess, Sitāī, enter the fire in all her eight births, so that in the end she and Vīrama may for ever be in *svarga*.[43] Nor were women behind men in patriotism. Brave Hīrādevī killed her own husband, the traitor Bīkamsī, by throwing a plate at him and informed Kānhaḍade of the entry of Muslim forces into Jālor.[44] Delighted at Kānhaḍade's victory over the Muslims at Sirāṇā, the women of Jālor put on multi-coloured scarves, necklaces, *nūpuras, kaṅkaṇas* and *maṅgala* marks and received the victor near the customs-house of the fort. In their hands they carried plates of gold; and they covered the *chauk* with pearls.[45]

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[38] IV, 12-17.

[39] IV, 126-136.

[40] IV, 19-20. According to my friend, Mr. Bhanwarlal Nahata, the composition of the eighteen *varṇas* was as follows:

9 *nārūs*- Kandoī Kumbhār, Sūtradhāra, Maharaṇiā, Tambolī, Sunāra, Bhaisāīta, Mālī, Kānchhaliā.
5 *kārūs*- Chhīpā, Suī, Lohāra, Gandhī, Mochī.
4 *varṇas*- Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra.

[41] IV, 31, 55.

[42] *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 252.

We can see also the other side of the picture. Though the poet has nothing to say against polygamy, its usual evils must have been experienced by the Hindu society of that period. The troubled political condition of the period made their condition worse, by giving the conception of chastity a newer and stricter significance. It led to *satīs* and *jauhars*. It probably brought in also the *purdā* system. But curiously enough in this society which laid so much store by chastity there were also women of easy virtue who practised their profession with absolute freedom.[46]

Festivals and Festivities

Of festivals as such we have not much in the *Kānhaḍade-prabandha*, but we can have a general idea of the way they were celebrated by the people in general. When Kānhaḍade won his great victory at Sirāṇā, not only did women give him a grand reception, but the whole of Jālor also wore a festive look. Its inhabitants sounded drums, blew *bhūngals*,[47] and shouted, "Victory (to Thee), Victory (to Thee)". Ornamental arches sprang upon all sides, people flew kites, *rāsa* dances were performed, women did *nichhawar*, and people staged plays and shows. On the way, by which the victor marched, people spread flowers, new clothes and *abīr*.[48] Of the way the fort was decked when Alāuddīn's army reached it, we have already said something. The people's joy must have been expressed in the same manner on other festive occasions.

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[43] III, 193-205.
[44] IV, 202-206.
[45] I, 243-249.
[46] IV, 31-2.
[47] I, 237.

Religious Condition

Padmanābha begins the *prabandha* by offering obeisance to Gaurīnandana (Gaṇeśa, the son of Gaurī), Sarasvatī, the daughter of Brahmā, and Śrīkānta Kṛṣṇa. Before his march to Sirāṇā, Kānhaḍade worshipped Durgā, and his nobles prayed to the goddess for their master's success.[49] In her form as Āśāpurī, the tutelary goddess of the Chauhān clan, she is said to have brought success to Kānhaḍade's arms at Jālor by sending a storm of exceptional fury (III, 166-170). Again along with Gaṇeśa, Brahmā and Kānhasvāmī she is represented as telling Kānhaḍade in a dream about the imminent fall of his stronghold.[50]

Almost equally venerated was Śiva throughout the Sonigarā dominions. Kānhaḍade put his life in danger to take away from the Khaljī army the broken *liṅga* of Somanātha which it was carrying to Delhi.[51] According to the *prabandha*, Kānhaḍade housed the fragment of the released idol in a magnificent temple and worshipped it daily with *pañchāmṛta-snāna*, *ṣoḍasopachāra-pūjā*, sandal-paste and flowers. Other fragments of the idol were sent to Soraṭh, Lohaśṛṅga in Bāgaḍ, Ābū and Sevāḍī.[52] Strangely enough even Alāuddīn is regarded at one place as an incarnation of Rudra, with all his characteristic marks, five faces, each one with three eyes, matted locks with Gaṅgā, *Brahmakapāla*, tiger's skin and *triśūla*.[53] At another place we are told that he would be a *gaṇa* of *Śiva* on his death.[54]

Viṣṇu was adored in his various forms, though his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa received the greatest homage. When the Chauhāns marched out for their last fight, both at Jāor and Siwānā, they worshipped Śāligrāma, put on rosaries of *tulasī* and recited the name of Rāma. People chanted the name of Hari, as the queen of Kānhaḍade entered the *Jauhar* fire. Later on even Kānhaḍade was regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu (III, 119; I, 120; IV, 295).

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[48] I, 239-240.
[49] I, 190-191.
[50] IV, 198-199.
[51] I, 114 ff.
[52] I, 251-255.
[53] II, 133-134.
[54] III, 220.

How polytheistic the Hindus were can further be seen from Padmanābha's statement that when Kānhaḍade's queens were going for *jauhar,* 33 crores of gods witnessed the scene. There was Indra on the elephant Airāvata, the Sun, the Moon, *Naravāhana* Kubera, 64 *yoginīs,* Bhāratī on her swan, Hari on Garuḍa, Śakti on her lion, Brahmā, Rudra on his bull, and also the seven *ṛṣis.*[55]

Moral and ethical ideals

Padmanābha supplies a good picture of the moral and ethical ideals which inspired the people. The captives taken by the Khaljīs during their expedition to Somanāth, for instance, were all believers in *karma.* If they suffered, the suffering had to be attributed to some bad action of theirs; and what these bad actions could be according to their moral and ethical standards of that period can be seen from the monologue of a captive in the *Kānhaḍadeprabandha.* It is interesting as well as instructive in spite of its disjointed character and a few repetitions. "What sin did I commit in my past life," mutters the captive, that I have fallen into the hands of these Turks? Did I give false evidence? Did I attribute wrongly any bad action to others? Did I deprive any mother of the children playing in her lap? Did I destroy pastures and ferries? Did I rob the bees in a forest of their honey? Did I commit high-way robbery? Did I disobey my parents? Did I go against the dictates of the Vedas? Did I not observe the *Ekādaśī* fast? Did I not give anything in charity to Brāhmaṇas? Did I go against the accepted customs of my family? Was I inhospitable? Did I not offer water to the thirsty? Did I commit adultery and the five great sins?[56] Did I have food at night? Did I cheat children? Did I destroy the embankment of a lake? Did

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[55] IV, 245-250.

[56] The five great sins are killing a Brāhmana, drinking prohibited liquors, stealing gold belonging to a Brāhmaṇa, *saṁsarga* with a teacher's wife, and the company of these sinners (See the *Mitākṣarā on* the *Yajñavalkyasmṛti,* III, 227).

I damage a *pīpal* tree? Did I destroy temples and insult images of gods? Did I trade in lac, salt and sesamum? Did I accept *mahādāna*[57] on the accasion of a lunar or solar eclipse? Did I sell my daughters? Did I betray the confidence of anyone? Did I fail to show respect to the people who deserved it? Did I fatten myself on money snatched from others? Did I desert in battle my master who had supplied me with food all my life? Or did I leave him when he faced a siege? Did I commit treason? Did I drink *āsava* liquor? Did I kill Brāhmaṇas? Did I put anyone in bondage? Did I associate with mean people? Did I steal gold by cutting away a part of it? Did I not worship Kṛṣṇa with the sacred leaves of *talasī?* Was I not kind to living creatures? Did I go against my plighted word? Did I burn pastures? Did I misappropriate the money put in trust with me? Did I administer poison to anyone? Did I belie the hopes of anyone and dispossess him of money? Was I addicted to the seven *vyasanas?*[58] Did I traduce others? Was I not kind to the poor? Did I accept bribes?"[59]

It is a curious list, including not only actions that are ethically wrong, but also many others which the Hindu society of the period tabooed either on religious or social grounds. Influence of Jaina ideas can be seen in questions like, "Did I have *bhāta* (rice or food) at night? Did I deal in lac, salt and sesamum?" Unsocial acts like destruction of embankments, refusal of hospitality, acceptance of bribes and destruction of pastures are regarded similarly as productive of bad *karma* and consequently of bad *karmic* consequences. And equally sinful from the view-point of the Brāhmaṇas in the fourteenth century was acceptance of charity at the time of lunar and solar eclipses, damaging *pīpal* trees, non-observance of the *Ekādaśī* fast and the non-performance of Kṛṣṇa's worship with *tulasī* leaves. Remarkable also is the sentiment of *svāmidharma* or loyalty to one's feudal lord or master, which till the other day was a characteristic of the Hindu life in Rājasthān.

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[57] The *mahādānas* are giving away gold, horses, sesame, elephants, maids, chariots, land, houses, brides and dark-brown cows in charity.

[58] According to Kauṭalya, *vyasanas* are of two types, 3 born of anger and 4 of passion (*Arthaśāstra,* Chaptper, 229).

[59] I, 159-173. To this we may add also the list of bad consequences of greed (IV, 185-192).

Influence of *Smṛti* ideals can, no doubt, be seen even more prominently, for both the poet and his hero were orthodox Hindus.

At another place (I, 224-236), we find a shorter but a fairly interesting list of the desirable consequences that naturally flowed from good *karma*. Through one's meritorious actions, one chewed betel-nuts, found a treasure-trove in his house, married a girl from a very good family, had elephants and horses tied at his gate, enjoyed perfect health and the blessings of Brāhmaṇas, had the best of clothes and received respect from rulers. The ruler's ministers did not oppose him, *chāmaras* were waved and an umbrella held over his head, and he had no occasion to walk on foot. Various were his enjoyments. He listened to the *veṇu* (flute), and *mṛdaṅga,* slept on costly beds and listened to his own praises recited by bards. As offspring he had only male children. His house never lacked provisions and he never suffered defeat in a battle. Through *puṇya* he secured *viḍyā,* stainless renown and festivities of "one hundred and eight types". Through *puṇya* he had high regard for meritorious actions, never told lies, had ever the feast of lights (Diwalī) in his house and ruled over a kingdom This list of desirable consequences is useful not merely again as an illustration of the Hindus' belief in *karma* and insistence on good actions but also as an index of what the people in general wanted to have and what the lucky ones alone had in life.[60]

Economic condition

We can also usefully glean some facts from the *Kānhaḍadeprabandha* about the economic condition of the period. Among the people who accompanied Alāuddīn's army were *Bhoīs, Mehars, Ṭhāṭhias, Kahārs, Kamānīs, Pakhālīs, Ghānchīs, Mochīs, Gānchhās,*

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60. I, 224-226. To the Hindus' idea of good religious actions which resulted in *puṇya* we should add, also the list at the end of the poem in which, the poet states that the reading of the *KP* gave one the same merit as—

(i) giving charity, (ii) bathing in the Gaṅgā, (iii) doing *tapas,* (iv) going to the Narmadā, (iv) always telling the truth, (iv) listening to the recitation of the *Purāṇas,* (vii) liberating captives, (viii) offering sacrifices, (ix) going to Prayāga, Gaṅgādvāra, and Kedāra, (x) rescuing a *vidyā* from oblivion, (xi) bathing in the Godāvarī, (xii) seeing Narāyaṇa, (xiii) giving charity at Kurukṣetra, (xiv) becoming a *satī,* (xv) bathing in the Gomatī, (xvi) living at Dwārakā for six months, (xvii) going to Prabhāsa, (xviii), living at Muktipurī, (xix) repeating the name of Rāma early in the morning and (xx) visiting all the *tīrthas.*

Satuārās, Mālīs, Darjīs, Bābars, Oḍas, Tambolīs, Kābaḍīs, Khamārs, Bhaṭhiārās, Lohārs, Silāwaṭs, Chunārās, Kāgalkūṭas, Tunārās, Olagaṇas, and *Boharās.*[61] The list is fairly representative of the professional classes whose services were needed in the slow-moving armies and camps of the Sultāns of Delhi, if not in the early fourteenth century, then at least in the fifteenth century, when Padmanābha penned his description. *Pakhālīs* carried water in leather-bags. *Ghānchīs* pressed oil. *Mochīs* repaired and made shoes. *Mālīs* probably had to do with flowers as now. *Darjis* stitched clothes. *Tambolīs* prepared betel-leaves for the soldiers. *Bhaṭiārās* and *Lohārs* respectively were bakers and blacksmiths. Silāwaṭs dressed stones. *Tuṇārās* were weavers. *Chunārās* probably were masons. *Kāgalkūṭās* prepared paper. It is interesting to find that they formed a class by themselves. Boharās were money-lenders. Other classes mentioned in the list represent labourers, attendants of various sorts and degrees, manufacturers of bows and arrows, makers of ready-made food like parched grains, distillers of wine and people in charge of pack-animals. The fast-moving Rājpūt armies may not have needed the services of all these classes, but that many of these lived in the towns of Rājasthān is known from the frequent reference to the eighteen *varṇas,* which as pointed out above, included skilled as well as unskilled workers belonging mostly to the Sūdra caste.

Trade and commerce were the special sphere of the Vaiśya community whether its members were Brahmanical Hindus or Jainas; and the Vaiśyas, as indicated already, did not confine their commercial operations to India, and in the towns of Rājasthān one could have articles of Indian as well as foreign make (IV, 12-13). That by Padmanābha's time their sphere of trade included foreign lands like Kūchi, Kālahasta, Jāvā and Hormuz can be seen from Alāuddīn's boast that goods from these places reached Delhi and their people made obeisance to him (II, 73). Similarly at Jālor one could have imported things like horses, steel, and precious stones.

Gujarāt appears to have been a wealthy and prosperous state. Western Rājasthān also flourished under the rule of the Chauhāns; and both of them along with their adjoining areas were studded with towns and villages, of which those mentioned in the *Kānhaḍadeprabandha* are given below.[62]

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[61] II, 87-92. Read also the account of the Śūdras above.

Towns as well as the big villages of the period were generally fortified to a greater or lesser extent, for life at this time of political trouble, when there was danger not only from the Muslims but also one's own land-hungry neighbours, was comparatively more insecure than it is at present. But security or no security, the people enjoyed life. The Brāhmaṇas of Śrīmāla were proficient not only in sacrificial lore but also in music and dramaturgy.[63] In towns like Jālor and Siwānā were platforms in most quarters where people staged dramatic spectacles to the accompaniment of music, vocal as well as instrumental; and every joyous occasion led to a round of festivities which included *rāsa* dances, *prekṣaṇakas,* kite-flying and songs.[64] Gaily decked processions to the chief temples must have also added colour and gaiety to the life of the Rājpūt towns.[65]

Hindu-Muslim relations

In the fourteenth as well as fifteenth century the Hindus and Muslims were living together in many parts of India and had reached some sort of a compromise in those regions. That Alāuddīn had a Jain Hindu as his mint-master is known from Pheru's *Dravya-parīkṣā.* The *Kānhaḍadeprabandha* shows the Hindus, Bhoja Khāṇḍādhara and Molhaṇa Shāh, serving the Sultān and carrying out his orders.[66] It even appears that after the first few years of ferocious warfare in Rājasthān Alāuddīn ordered his soldiers not to destroy temples, sack towns and villages, and destroy cows.[67] But in spite of such concessions, there was bound to be a feeling of ill-will, almost amounting to hatred at times, in a period when the Hindus had to fight for their political and cultural survival and everything that they held as sacred was being derided and destroyed. Kānhaḍade's son, Vīrama, is made to turn down the proposal to marry a Muslim princess because it would be derogatory to his position as a Rājpūt prince, would disgrace his high family and also be something that none could think of. "Such a thing," says the Prince, "has never happened in the past and could never happen in future. How is one to throw away the nectar that has come to one's hands".[68] Obviously for him Hinduism alone is *amṛta* and Islām perhaps the reverse of it. Being born as a Muslim was according to the orthodox Padmanābha some punishment for past bad deeds. Pṛthvirāja's queen Padmāvatī has to be born as a Muslim princess, in spite of having immolated herself on the pyre of her dead husband, because she had used black magic to win his affection.[69] Though a high-born princess, the favourite daughter of Alāuddīn, she is made to sing the praises of Hinduism by saying, "Listen, my Father, great is the difference between a Hindu and a Turk. The Hindu is an Indra in his enjoyments. He has eighteen types of food and the best of ornaments and dress. He knows what words to use. I will never marry a Turk; I would rather remain a virgin for ever".[70]

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[62] Kanakāchala or Suvarṇagiri, Khambayat, Aṇahillapaṭṭana, Dīvagaḍha, Maṅgalahura Soraṭha, Moḍāsā, Asāval, Sūrat, Rāṇera Chāmpāner, Sāyarapura, Somanātha, Megalapura, Mahuā, Ūnā, Devapāṭana, Jūnāgaḍh, Girnār, Kanthāgehaḍī, Ṭhaṭṭhu, Bāhaḍmer, Bhillamāla, Revantī, Dhāṇasā, Khūḍalī, Rāḍadraha, Bāpaḍudri, Goalī, Bālahī, Sundraḍī, Chaukaḍī, Gaḍhī, Pūnalā, Mertā, Mokalāṇā, Ūdalapura, Harasur, Sāmbhar, Āmber, Bahādarpur, Sānchor, Thirādri, Kākarinayar, Bārāhī, Amarakoṭa, Bīkamapura, Jaisalmer, Badhnor, Pārkar, Pūgal, Maroṭ, Dhāṭ, Pokaraṇa, Āsalakoṭa, Jāṅgalū, Jasehara, Sāraṇa, Chitrā, Nāhesara, Jīhalavāḍā, Devera, Kailavāḍā, Bāhaḍamera, Narwar, Khamāla, Navarā, Dhinkoḍā, Sojat, Padrāḍā, Rīchhera, Ḍoḍiālī, Rāṇika, Ghāṭa, Sisodā, Chhavāna, Bhāilaborī, Chaṇḍāulī, Changū, Ābū, Trisiṅgama, Dāntū, Bheladi, Sehura, Tārangā, Pālhaṇapura, Samiyānā, Mahevā, Bhādrājana, Maṇḍohar, Sūrāchanda, Vanādri, Sūṇḍī, Rāsūndha.

Most of these villages and towns exist even now and can be found in the Survey of India maps, though at times with certain phonetic changes.

[63] See above the account of the Brāhmaṇas.

[64] I, 115-117, III, 155-7, 152, I, 237-240, IV, 31.

[65] IV, 22.

That the Muslims of that period had similar ideas of their cultural superiority and entertained no little contempt for many aspects of Hinduism and the Hindus can be seen from contemporary Muslim historians and also the *Kīrtilatā* of Vidyāpati[71] the composition of which is not later than that of Padmanābha's *Kānhaḍadeprabandha*. Objective writers like Alberunī who could systematically evaluate even an alien culture were rare in the early history of Islām in India. The spirit needed time to develop and become fairly general only with Mughal times and specially in the reign of Akbar the Great who, in his appreciation of all faiths, can be compared best to the Mauryan emperor, Aśoka.

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[66] On Bhoja Khāṇḍādhara see my paper in the *Marubhāratī*, VIII, Part 1. Molhaṇa is mentioned both in the *Kānhaḍadeprabandha* and the *Hammīramahākāvya* as Alāuddīn's envoy.

[67] See *KP*, III, 239. But Alāuddin's orders in this connection, if actually any were given, do not seem to have been always carried out. The capture of Jālor coincided with the destruction of its main temple, i.e., the one which house the image of Kānhaswāmi.

[68] III, 139.

[69] III, 204.

[70] III, 126.

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[71] For a very good description of the way the victorious Muslims and the conquered Hindus lived together in the beginning of the fifteenth century see the *Kīrtilatā*, canto II. Even the most ill-placed of the Muslims, we are told, tried to lord over the Hindus, called them dirty, and made them do forced labour. The condition at Delhi may have been better, though of this we do not have much evidence from either Muslim or Hindu sources. In the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq alone perhaps the Hindus received tolerably good treatment. In Gujarāt Alāuddīn's governor, Alp Khān, maintained good relations with the Hindūs, and his policy may have been followed by some of his successors. Alāuddīn himself, too, could set at naught the dictates of *Mullās*, if royal interests could be served best that way.

The Bhagmati Legend

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I

It is a matter of common knowledge that the capital of Andhra Pradesh, Ḥaidarābād, was founded by Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah, the fifth ruler of Quṭbshahi dynasty, in 1000/1592, with its apex at the famous monument, the Chār Mīnār. In this connection there is a problem which still remains unsolved, and its importance is due not so much to its intrinsic merit than to its revival in the beginning of the last century and its persistence since then. The problem is whether there was a certain *demi-mondaine* named Bhāgmatī living at the village, Chichlam near the northern bank of the river Mūsī and whether the new capital was ever called Bhāgnagar after her.

Before examining the question it would be well to enumerate some of the different episodes connected with Bhāgmatī which have been handed down to us. Probably the first time the names of the woman as well as of the city are found is in a certain petition which is supposed to have been sent by Abu'l-Faẕl's brother Faiẕī, the Imperial Resident at Burhānpur and Aḥmadnagar, to the Emperor Akbar. This petition is included in the collection of letters entitled variously as Inshā-i Faiẕī ("Faiẕī's Diction"), 'Tabashiru's-Ṣubḥ ("Early Dawn") and Latīfa-i Faiẕī ("Faiẕī's Witticism"). The particular petition with which we are concerned is not dated but it must have been written sometime between 999/1591 and 1002/1594 when Faiẕi was the Imperial Resident in the Deccan. It has just these words about the Quṭbshahi Sultan:

"Ahmad (*sic*)-Qulī is steeped in Shi'ism, and has built a city, Bhāgnagar by name, after Bhāgmatī, the old prostitute (*fāḥisha-i kuhna*) who has been his mistress for a long time (*ma'shūqa-i* *qadīm*)"[1] The thread was taken up by another panegyrist of the Imperial Court, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Bakshī, who wrote his chronicle, the Tabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhi about the same time (1002/1594). Niẓāmu'd-din has just three or four lines in all about Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. All he knows about the Sulṭān is:

> "Muḥammad 'Ali (*sic*) Quṭbu'l-Mulk s/o Ibrāhīm succeeded his father. He became so enamoured of a Hindu prostitute (*pātarē*) Bhāmgasi (*sic*) by name that he founded a city which he called Bhāgnagar after her and ordered that one thousand horsemen should always accompany the whore (*fāḥisha*). He has now been on the throne of the kingdom now, which is 1002 years after the hijra, for nine years".[2]

The only contemporary chronicler who wrote in the Deccan and who mentions Bhāgmatī and Bhāgnagar is Ferishta. Writing in 1018 he says:

> "The Sulṭān was greatly fascinated by a prostitute (*fāḥisha*) named Bhāgmatī. He ordered that whenever she came to the court she should be attended by one thousand horsemen so that she should not look one whit inferior to any of the big nobles. About this time the climate of Golkonda had become so bad that it had been telling on the health of its inhabitants, and it was for this reason that Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh founded and populated a city four kroh away which became unequalled throughout the length and breadth of India for its planning as well as for its cleanliness. He called it Bhāgnagar at first but later he was sorry for what he had done and changed the name to Ḥaidarābād."[3]

There are two Mughal historians to which a reference might be made here. The first is 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandī who wrote his voluminous panegyric for 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān. K̲h̲ān-i K̲h̲ānān, the *Ma'āt̲h̲ir- Raḥīmī* in 1025; and the other is K̲h̲āfī K̲h̲ān who compiled his book the *Muntak̲h̲abu'l-lubāb* after the conquest of the Deccan by Aurangzeb. Both of them say in so many words that they have relied on Ferishta so far as the history of the Deccan is concerned, and so they cannot be regarded as having the value of an independent authority.[4]

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[1] The references in this paper are from *Tabāshīru's-Subh* in the Salar Jang Library, MSS., Nathr Farsi, 31. It is called *Inshā-i Faizi* in the catalogue of the Aṣafia Library and *Latīfa-i-Faiẓī* in the Library of the Ḥaidarābād Record Office. It may be mentioned here that the particular sentence quoted here is not found in the Aṣafia manuscript, Inshā-i Farsi, 80, which was written down at Aḥmadnagar and completed on 4th of Muharram in the fiftieth year of Akbar's reign.

[2] Niẓāmu'd-din, *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarshāhī*, p. 444.

[3] *Ferishta*, II, 173.

Let us subject these authors to a critical analysis before we proceed to a further discussion of the problem. The first name in the list is that of Faiẓi, He never set his foot beyond Aḥmadnagar, and had further an inherent dislike and even disdain for the three remaining kingdoms of the Deccan, namely Bijapur, Aḥmadnagar and Tilangana (Golkonda). He was appointed Imperial Resident at Burḥānpūr, the capital of the Fārūqī rulers of K̲h̲āndēsh, with the avowed object of extending the Imperial sway over the whole of peninsular India. In fact, he, in unison with other Mug̲h̲al historians does not recognise these kingdoms as independent states at all, and calls their rulers simply "Niẓāmu'l-mulk, 'Adil K̲h̲ān and Quṭbu'l-mulk" without royal titles and their kingdoms as merely jagīrs.[5] The only Deccani ruler for whom he has a word of praise is Burhān of Aḥmadnagar who had been sent by Akbar to reconquer the kingdom of his ancestors as an Imperial *protégé* and who, according to Faiẓi "was lifted up from the very dust and considers himself to be a mere slave (*parwarda*) of His Majesty".[6] The solitary sentence Faiẓi has concerning Muḥammad-Qulī is full of sneers and taunts. "Steeped in Shī'ism", "the old prostitute", "mistress for a long time" are just verbal darts thrown on the Sulṭān in quick succession, all the time knowing fully well that he would not have any opportunity to retort. The social habits of the Sulṭan as well as his poems (which have been published) show that he was not a man of particularly sober habits and was prone to be self-indulgent both in wine and women. He was, however, a man of some fine qualities. He was a wise judge of men, was a great builder, a man of culture and of scholarly temperament. But all these great qualities of head and heart have been overlooked and just one aspect of his character has been brought out—his *liasion* with a certain prostitute whose name does not figure among his amours as described in the collection of his poems. Even if we consider the collection of Faiẓi's letters and petitions as authentic they are definite that Faiẓi never came nearer Ḥaidarabad than Aḥmadnagar, and whatever he has written about it is from hearsay. The strong and versatile pen of Faiẓi has, by its verbal jugglery, created a legend which has been glossed over by those who followed him, and however weak and even impossible it may be from the historical point of view, it forms the core of a story which still persists in spite of the very obvious lacunae.

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[4] See *Ma'āt̲h̲ir-i Rahīmī*, I, p. 16 and *Muntak̲h̲abu'l-lubāb* III, p. 2, where the respective authors express their indebtedness to Ferishta so far as the history of the states of the Deccan is concerned.

[5] *Tabashir*, p. 31.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 27. Here it should be mentioned that another quasi-Deccani ruler praised by Faiẓi is Raja 'Alī K̲h̲ān of K̲h̲āndēsh. He is applauded by the Resident for having "walked a long distance on foot as he approached the Imperial camp and began to bow before and salute the (empty) Imperial throne placed in the centre." Addressing Akbar Faizi says that "when Your Majesty's *farman* was read out he (Raja 'Ali K̲h̲ān) kept standing all the time with great respect".

The author of the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarshāhi* was the first to gloss over it by adding on the episode of a thousand horsemen. The legend is the only supposed fact of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah of which he is aware, although the Sulṭān ruled over Tilangana and Andhra for thirty-six long years. Even in the four or five lines which he has written about the Sulṭān he has made the chronological mistake of post-dating the reign by five years—993 in lieu of 985. Niẓāmu'd-dīn has added another item to the story and thus led the way to future romancists.

We now come to Ferishta, who completed his history of the Deccani states in 1018/1709. His monumental chronicle, the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhimī*, has very little to say about the history of medieval Tilangana, and he prefaces this account with a brief description of his own shortcomings in this connection, a sense of modesty rare in medieval chroniclers. He says:

> "It is well known to those with a knowledge of the mysteries of the universe that one Shāh Ḵhurshāh came from 'Iraq during the reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shah and compiled a history of the kingdom in which he included everything great and small about the history of the dynasty. But this work was not before the author of these pages when he wrote them

down, and he had to be satisfied with a short account of that great House."[7]

Not having a first hand knowledge of the annals of the Quṭbshāhs Ferishta has made some serious mistakes in recording the events of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī which have marred the veracity of his narrative. We may here mention some of these: (1) He says that Muḥammad-Qulī ascended the throne at the age of 12 in 989, although he was born in 975 and was thus 14 years old. (2) Writing in 1018 he says that the Persian ambassador Aghuzlū Sulṭān was still in the Deccan waiting for the acceptance of the proposal of the marriage of the son of Shāh 'Abbās II of Persia with the Sulṭān's daughter Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam; although as a matter of fact her marriage with the Sulṭān's nephew who later became Muḥammad Quṭb Shah had already taken place a year earlier in 1016 in the presence of the envoy himself. (3) Ferishta is so much interested in the Bhāgmati romance that he calls the capital of the Quṭbshāhīs Bhāgnagar even in 1018/1609 although, as will be seen later, we have a number of coins struck at the *Ḥaidarabad* mint in 1012/1603. (4) Ferishta forgets his own theory when as early as 1005/1597 he says that the Quṭbshahi army which had been sent to help the Niẓāmshāhīs, fled to *Ḥaidarabad* after their defeat at the hands of the Mughals.[8]

'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandi is so ignorant even of the supposed background of the Bhāgmatī story that he considers Bhāgnagar and Ḥaidarabad to be two distinct cities and mixes up Golkonda with Bhāgnagar. He says:

> "Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb'l-mulk, son of Ibrāhīm Quṭbu'l-mulk, succeeded his father and became so much enamoured of the woman, Bhāgmatī, that he founded a city which he called Bhāgnagar and ordered one thousand horsemen to serve her . . . Towards the end of his reign he founded another city, Ḥaidarabad through the efforts of Muḥammad Mu'mīn, one of

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[7] Date of writing the history of the Deccani kingdoms, *Fer.* II, 177; introductory remarks about the history of the Quṭbshāhs, II, 167.

[8] Muḥammad-Qulī's age at the time of his accession: 12 according to *Fer.*, II, 172; 14 according to *Fer.*, II, 172; 14 according to *Q.S.*, 182 where it is stated that he was born on 1-9-973/23-3-1566. *Fer.*, II, 172, says that Muhammad-Qulī was the eldest son of his father, while *Q.S.*, 288 says that he was his third son. Ḥayāt Bakhshī Begam's marriage, *Q.S.*, 288. The name, Ḥaidarābād, in 1005; *Fer.*, II, 163.

the prominent Syeds of the city of Isfahan who held the office of Mīr Jumla, and when the buildings were ready in the new capital he shifted his court thither and made it his capital.[9]

Moreover he is so ignorant of what was happening in the capital of Tilangana that he makes Muḥammad Amīn, the brother of Muḥammad-Qulī, to succeed him although in point of fact it was Sulṭān Muḥammad, his nephew and son-in-law who became Sulṭān after his death.

II

This is so far as contemporary or near contemporary sources of the legend are concerned. Coming to objective evidence, which incidentally goes directly against it, the first is that contained in the semi-official chronicle of the Quṭbshāhī dynasty called *Tarikh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* or briefly, the *Quṭb Shāhī*. As its name implied it was completed during the reign of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, in 1017/1608. There is not an allusion to Bhāgmatī or Bhāgnagar in this work at all. It contains a description of the new capital, its planning on the gridiron system, its beautiful "centre-piece" ChārMīnār with its beautiful symmetrical arches which are still the pride of the city, its fourteen thousand new shops, vast squares, hospitals, mosques and other amenities of civic life; yet it is completely silent about Bhāgmatī and Bhāgnagar.[10] A few years later, in 1054/1644 Mirza Niẓāmu'd-dīn Ahmad Ṣā'īdī wrote the Ḥadīqatu's -Salāṭīn which gives, *inter alia,* a description of the city, but he also calls the new capital Ḥaidarabad all along.[11] Forty-eight years later 'Ali b. Taifūr Busṭami wrote his Ḥadā'iqu's-Salāṭīn in 1092/1681 and he has also given a short history of the founding of the new capital; but he does not so much as mention Bhāgmatī or Bhāgnagar.[12]

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[9] *Ma'āthir-i Rahīmī,* II, 41; Muḥammad Amīn's supposed accession, *ibid.,* 412.

[10] There is no dearth of manuscript of this important book, and the one I have used in the Asafia Library, Tārīkh Farsi, 401; the description of the foundation of Ḥaidarābād and the buildings of the city would be found on pp. 249-53.

[11] *Hadīqatu's-Salātīn* was compiled in the reign of 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh; it has been ably edited and published by S. 'Alī Asghar Bilgrāmī in 1350 H. References to the buildings of the city are interspersed throughout the book.

[12] *Hadā'iqu's-Salāṭīn,* MSS. Salar Jung Library, Tārīkh Fārsī, 216, fol. 114b. The author says that the city was founded in 1004/1595, which is

When I brought some of these facts to the notice of some of my friends who were interested in the tradition they said that the Bhāgmatī episode was consciously suppressed by the Peshwa, Mir Mu'min. But this is not understandable as it is accepted on all hands that it was Mīr Mu'min himself who had prepared the plans for the building of the new city and his influence over the court was very great even before the plans were prepared. If he was averse to the city being named after a mere prostitute why was it necessary for him to wait for a change of names for two decades?

Then we have the direct evidence contained in the poetical works of the Sulṭān himself. Muḥammad-Qulī has created a niche for himself in the history of Dakhni-Urdu poetry by his copious poems, collectively known as his *Kulliyāt*, which have been edited, printed and published through the munificence of the Salar Jang Estate. One of the characteristics of the Sulṭān's poetry is its candidness and utter lack of reserve. Whatever he touches he lays it open threadbare, may it be natural scenery in which he excels, scenes in the bazar, description of his palaces, his own drinking bouts, his religious propensities, his amours, the transparency of the dress of his mistresses, their baths, their physiognomy and other matters which are generally left unsaid. He gives us a list of seventeen of his mistresses by real or pet names, each of whom has odes ranging from one to five composed by the Sulṭān. And yet there is not one ode in favour of Bhāgmatī who is supposed to have been the most favoured of all![13] The learned editor of the *Kulliyāt*, however, goes to say that the original name of the girl called Ḥaidar Maḥal in the poems was Bhāgmatī, and even that she was the mother of the Sulṭān's only daughter, the famous Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam who is still affectionately called *Mān Ṣāhib* or "the Revered Mother" by Ḥaidarābadīs. But there is not an iota of

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probably the date of the completion of the scheme laid down in the *Quṭbshāhī*. Mīr Mu'min was born before 960/1553, and was Peshwa already about 993/1585, seven years before the founding of Ḥaidarabad. For his life and the superstitions which gathered round him see Zor, *Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min*, Ḥaidarabad, 1941.

[13] Muḥammad-Qulī's Dakhni-Urdu poetical works, the *Kulliyāt* have been edited by Dr. Zor in 1940. On p. 80 of the Introduction the learned editor categorically states that the Sulṭān-poet "has used the word *bhāg* in a number of his poems, but the word has been used in all these places in its literary meaning, i.e., for 'share' or 'fortune', and this connotation fits in well with the context". Odes to the Sulṭān's mistresses, pp. 225-281.

evidence to support this. He has even tried to establish Bhāgmatī's grave in the mausoleum sacred to Kulthum Bēgam among the royal tombs near Golkonda, although the only grave of a female in the mortuary chamber is that of Kulthum herself and it has a definite inscription on the tombstone to that effect.[14]

In the same way, while the new capital is mentioned three times in the *Kulliyāt* not once is it called Bhāgnagar.[15] In spite of his rather loose character Muḥammad-Qulī was intensely religious in so far as the outward forms of Shī'ism were concerned, and there is hardly a single ode in his collection which does not end in an invocation to the Prophet and the fourth Khalīfā. It was only fitting for a monarch who had a Shī'ah divine of the calibre and influence of Mīr Mu'min as his chief adviser to have named the new city Ḥaidarabad. This view is further strengthened by a number of other facts: we know that the first public building in the new capital was the Bādshāhī 'Ashūrkhānā sacred to the Shī'ah *imāms,* that the beautiful mosque over the Charminar has five openings after the traditional Shī'ah pattern, and the different parts of the royal palace were named after the Prophet and the Imams.

Numismatic evidence also points in the same direction. While there are coins in the *Ḥaidarabad Museum* which were struck at the "Dāru's-Salṭanat, Golkonda'" in 992/1584 and others struck at "Dāru's-Sulṭanat, Ḥaidarabad" in 1012/1603 there is not one coin which was struck at "Bhāgnagar." Not only does this shatter the theory of the new capital being named after the street girl but it also demolishes the theory that the name Bhāgnagar was changed to Ḥaidarabad in 1017/1608.[16] Even that protagonist of the Bhāgmatī legend, Ferishta, calls the capital Ḥaidarabad as early as 1005/1596 when he mentions the flight of the Quṭbshāhī army "to Ḥaidarabad" after its defeat at the hands of the Mughals.

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[14] Both these assertions are found in Dr. Zor's article in the *Sabras* for April, May, June, 1958 in an article entitled *Bhāgmatī aur Bhāgnagar,* section 6. There is absolutely no evidence to prove that Ḥayāt Bakhshi Bēgam's mother was a woman of the street named Bhāgmati or Ḥaidar Maḥal. As against the assertion that Bhāgmati's grave is in the mausoleum sacred to Kulthūm Begam see *Epig. Indo-Moslemica* 1915-16, p. 34 and plate Xb. The only other grave in the chamber is that of Kulthūm's son and there is not a trace of any female's grave there at all besides that of *Kulthūm* herself.

[15] "My City"; *Kulliyāt,* poems, page 6. "City of Ḥaidar", *ibid.,* Ghazals, p. 177. "Ḥaidarnagar", *ibid.,* Poems, p. 324.

[16] For numismatic evidence see my Urdu pamphlet, *Bhāgmatī kā Afsānā,* appendix 2, p. 3; Hormuz Kaus, *Coins of the Qutub Shahi Coins of Golconda,* Spink's *Numismatic Circular,* May, 1955, pp. 211-12.

The names of Bhāgmatī and Bhāgnagar are non-existent in any history written in the Deccan after Ferishta or contemporary with him. The legend was revived with the coming of the Aṣafjāhī dynasty by the author of *Ḥadīqatu'l-'Ālam* in 1214/1799, but what he does is simply to place before the reader the two versions of the foundation of the new capital, one related by Ferishta and the other by the Quṭbshāhī, without any comment.[17] Eleven years later, in 1225/1810 was compiled the *Māhnāmah* by Ghulām Ḥusain Khān at the instance of the court singer Māhlaqā Bāi Chandā, and he immediately turned down the theory that the new capital was named after a courtesan. He says:

> "Khwājā Mun'im Khan Hamdānī says in his book, the *Sawaniḥ-Dakan* that Bhāgmati was the name of a Hindu prostitute and Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was enamoured of her .... But the whole of the story is utterly baseless.[18]

But in the period which followed the rule of Asaf Jāh I, the great founder of the dynasty which bore his name, the erotic part of the story came to have a special appeal to the chroniclers of the early Asafjāhī period. Quite against the old adage that a rolling stone gathers no moss, much moss was gathered round the small sneering sentence of Faizi, and soon the sentence grew into a paragraph, the paragraph into a section, and the section into a whole chapter at the hand of the courtesan's panegyrists. The mythical Bhāgmatī converted to the romantic Ḥaidar Maḥal, was made the chief mistress of the Sultān, the mother of Ḥayāt Bakshī Bēgam, was supposedly interned in a special mausoleum near Golkonda, became the primary motive of the construction of the *Purānā Pul* as well as of the new capital and one of the most prominent *grande dames* of the period! She was created afresh towards the end of the eighteenth century and became a mere tradition with little historical evidence to support it.[19]

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[17] *Hadiqatu'l-'Alam*, Ḥaidarabad, pp. 214-219.

[18] *Māhnāmah*, MSS, Salar Jang Library No. 371. Mun'im Khān Hamdānī, *Sawāniḥ-i Dakan*, Salar Jang Library, No. 307, was compiled as late as 1190/1776, and is one of those publications which have copied down the Bhāgmatī legend without subjecting it to any critical analysis.

Lastly, it must be remembered that the names, either of Bhāgmatī or Bhāgnagar, are not found in any *contemporary* Telugu work known to the author or mentioned in any history of Telugu literature.

III

In spite of all this it must be confessed that the European travellers who came to the Deccan in the seventeenth century have certainly mentioned "Bāgnagar" as the capital of Tilangana. François Bernier who visited Ḥaidarabad in 1667 speaks of "Bāgnagar" twice.[20] In the same way Thèvenot, who was in Hyderabad a year previous to this, gives the name of Golconda to the kingdom but says:

> "The capital city of this kingdom is called
> Bagnagar; the Perians call it Aider-Abad".

In other words, while the common people called the city "Bagnagar," the ruling aristocracy and government officers (i.e., those who carried on their official correspondence in Persian) called it Ḥaidarābad. We are aware that European travellers have left data about the social, cultural and even political conditions of India when they visited the country, which we do not find in any of our chronicles. Thus Thèvenot has given quite a mass of detail about the manners and customs of the Indians of those days and he and Tavernier take pains to describe the highways of the Deccan and the travelling stages through which they had to pass. Still, while Thèvenot has furnished us with interesting details about the derivation of the word Golkonda he is quite silent regarding the derivation of the word Bāgnagar although it was barely sixty-five years since the foundation of the city.[21]

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[19] There is a whole chapter (ch. 7) devoted to the supposed life-history and pranks of the woman in Dr. Zor's Introduction to Muḥammad-Qulī's *Kulliyat*, a large part of which is a reprint of his earlier work, *Sultān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, which was also printed in 1940.

[20] Bernier, *Voyage to the East Indies*, pp. 65, 67.

[21] *The Indian Travels of Thèvenot and Carreri*, pp. 131, 137.

If, however, we turn to Tavernier the mystery would be solved. For he says:

> “Bāgnagar” was founded by the grandfather of the present king. Here the king had very fair gardens.... Bagnagar or the Garden of Nagar”.[22]

Tavernier thus asserts that “Bāgnagar” stands for the *City of Gardens* or *Bāg͟hnagar* because the new capital was replete with gardens and groves. In a way he repeats what Rafi ‘u’d-dīn Shīrāzī had said sixty years previously, that

> “the whole city is just one large garden.”[23]

Evidently when the population of Golkonda was released from their over-populated city consequent on the construction of the Purānā Pul in 986/1578 and came to live in the new city with gardens and groves for miles and miles round where houses were built ‘in the midst of groves”,[24] the common people called it *Bāg͟hnagar* or the “City of Gardens” regardless of the official name of Ḥaidarabad given to the city. This Bāg͟hnagar became Bhāgnagar and even Bhāgyanagar at the hands of the romantic among *litterateurs,* and while the people forgot the real origin of the term they remembered the romantic element attached to the story.

APPENDIX

The chief female character of Wajhī’s poetic romance in dakhnī-Urdu, compiled during the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, has also been identified, somehow with Bhāgmatī.[25] This work is a purely imaginary story in which the only living character is that of the Sulṭān, whose dynastic title, *Quṭb* or Pole-Star, has been made the pivot of the story. Out of respect for this dynastic title Wajhī gives astronomical names to all the other *dramatis personae*. Thus Quṭb's boon companion is *'Uṭārad* or Mercury, the strong man who is granted the kingdom of Bengal by Quṭb is *Mirrīkh* or Mars, a girl named *Zuhrā* or Venus and another named *Mahtāb* or Moon come across Quṭb's path, while he falls in love and marries *Mushtarī* or Jupiter, which is incidentally the largest planet in the solar system. All these *personae* revolve round Quṭb much in the same manner as the heavens seem to revolve round the Pole-Star. There is no hint in the poem of any actual amour of the Sultan such as those whose names abound in his *Kulliyāt.* The marriage of the Sultan to Mushtarī is as fictitious as the romance itself.

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[22] Tavernier, *Travels in India,* p. 132.

[23] Rafi‘u’d-dīn Shīrāzī, *Tazkiratu’l-mulūk,* MSS. Asafia, Tarīk͟h Fārsi, 1081, fol. 61b.

[24] For the congestion of the capital prior to its extension beyond the Musi, see *ibid.,* fol. 60a; groves round Ḥaidarābād, *Quṭbshāhi,* p. 231.

[25] “Ḥaidar Maḥal, *alias* Mushtarī, *alias* Bhagmatī”; Zor *Muḥmmad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh,* p. 86. Wajhī’s romance has been edited by Dr. ’Abdu’l-Haq and published by the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Karachi, 1953. For a detailed discussion of *Quṭb-Mushtarī* see Sherwani, *Some Cultural Aspects of the Reign of Muḥammad-Quli Quṭb Shah, Medieval India Quarterly,* January-April, 1958, pp. 261-263.

Professor P. B. Desai of the Kannada Research Institute of Dharwar has kindly indicated to me the resemblence of this story with that of Princess Śaśiprabha in the classical Sanskrit poem called Navasāhasāṇkacharita of Padmagupta composed about 1000 A.C. "The work in eighteen cantos narrates a purely imaginary story of the winning of the princess Śaśiprbha with a covert reference to the history Siddhurājā of Mālawa."[26] The similarity is almost perfect, for in the imaginary romance of Quṭb-Mushtarī there is a covert reference to the title and influence of Muḥammad-Qulī, who is supposed to be so powerful as to present the kingdom of Bengal to the strong man, *Mirrīkh* or Mars !

There is absolutely no reason why the fictitious Mushtarī should be identified with another fictitious person Bhāgmatī.

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[26] Quotation from Dr. Devasthali's chapter on *Language and Literature in The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, in the series published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, p. 183.

The Congress Session of 1907

BY

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"Blow up, if everything else fails." That is said to have been the historic telegram which the Calcutta headquarters of the Congress Extremist Party sent to its delegates on their way to Surat on the eve of the twenty-third session of the Indian National Congress held in that city in 1907. The message heralded the most regrettable episode in the history of the Congress, the first parting of ways among the Congress leaders at Surat amidst scenes of tumultuous and unedifying violence and disorder. One can hardly realise today that the Congress was nearly doomed to death at this ill-fated session, but the Congress was fated not to die, and so, far from being its grave, Surat marked a new milestone in the evolution of India's national movement. At this great hour of the fulfilment of the Congress movement, the story of the fateful Surat imbroglio over which historians so far thought it best to throw a pall needs recapitulation only to bring home to the present-day reader its implications, no less than its momentous consequences to India's national struggle.

For a full understanding of the genesis of the Surat split, it is necessary to review the circumstances which brought a Left Wing into existence inside the Congress. The first few years of the Congress were uneventful, and its sessions were held in peace and amity. The Congress leaders were at first unanimous in their unswerving faith in British liberalism, and they gave expression to this year after year with a patience and moderation which might appear pathetic to-day. They proclaimed in no uncertain terms that they were loyal to the backbone, and that they harboured no notions of subverting the British power in India. This angelic patience was, however, slightly shaken when Charles Bradlaugh failed on behalf of the Congress to secure in 1890 Parliament's sanction to his proposed measure of liberal reforms for India. The Act of 1892 was a sham both in form and in content, and it naturally failed to reinforce the waning confidence of some of the Congress leaders in the sense of British justice. And, so far as the other demands of the Congress were concerned, not even a formal notice was taken of any one of them by the Government. The Congress was officially referred to as a "microscopic minority". A feeling thus naturally grew up that Britain, despite her promises and assurances, was not really inclined to grant any substantial power to the Indian people.

The apathy and contempt with which the Govt. treated the Congress became more and more pronounced, and official spite could scarcely be concealed during the weak rule of Lord Elgin, when the bureaucracy openly showed its opposition to the slightest modification of its vested rights and privileges. When Lord Elgin was succeeded by Lord Curzon, the position of the Congress became all the more untenable, and Lord Curzon's reactionary policy drove discontent underground. The Calcutta Corporation Act, the Official Secrets Act, the Indian Universities Act, and last of all the Partition of Bengal came one after another as so many hammer-blows at the Congress, and the bulk of its younger adherents lost all faith in its present "Mendicant Policy".

The inevitable result of discontent inside the Congress was, the division of the movement into two camps, the so-called Moderates and the so-called Extremists. This bifurcation could be felt for the first time at the Benares session of 1905, but it assumed the proportions of an open cleavage in the stormy Calcutta session of 1906, when a small body of these Extremists finding themselves powerless against the majority walked out of the Pandal in a spirit of exasperation, and as a protest against the begging spirit of the Moderates. An open split was, however, temporarily averted by the tact and moderation of the President, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India. Four important resolutions which marked the spirit of the times, and yet sought to restrict the Congress agitation within constitutional limits, were passed on self-government on the colonial lines, National education, Swadeshi and Boycott of foreign goods. Even the word Swaraj was for the first time used by the President in his adress as a discreet concession to the extremist sentiment.

The Extremists, however, were not satisfied, and they continued all through 1907 a country-wide agitation against the present Congress policy from the press and the platform, and preached "utter futility" of all co-operation with the British Government. The next Congress session was to have been held at Nagpur, but as there were some serious local disputes, the All-India Congress Committee decided to hold the session at Surat. In the month of November it was rumoured that the four new resolutions of the preceding session might be excluded in the Surat session. This rumour kept circulating till the 25th December when the Congress delegates were already assembled at Surat. This made the Extremists under the leadership of Mr. Tilak highly excited, and they prepared for a trial of strength. It was indeed true that many senior Moderate leaders regarded their position as somewhat compromised by these resolutions, and they also were waiting for an opportunity for having the goal and technique of the Congress movement revised.

The Bombay Moderates headed by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta had already succeeded in removing the items of Boycott and National Education from the programme of the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Surat in April last. The Extremists had, therefore, reason to suspect that the same thing might happen in Congress session as well. The Reception Committee was composed mostly of Sir Pherozeshah's followers, and Mr. Gokhale, another Moderate stalwart, had no difficulty in persuading the Committee to nominate Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh, a Moderate again, to the office of the President, and reject the proposal for the nomination of Lala Lajpat Rai, an Extremist, on the ground that "we cannot afford to flout the Government at this stage, for the authorities would throttle our movement in no time". This was considered to be an insult to the Extremist section, and Dr. Ghosh is stated to have received numerous telegrams from different parts of the country asking him to relinquish the honour in favour of Lala Lajpat Rai. But Dr. Ghosh was not allowed by the Moderates to retire, and Lala Lajpat Rai publicly declined the honour in order to get out of an extremely awkward honour for himself. Having secured a President of their own choice, the Moderates had won the first round of the fight, and so the Extremists came to Surat in full strength ready for a final showdown.

For the first time in Congress history, the Extremists set up a separate camp of their own away from the main Congress camp where the Moderates congregated. Here the Extremist leaders like Tilak, Khaparde and Aurobindo Ghosh daily harangued their followers about the suspicious move of the Moderates, and thereby stirred up their feelings against the autocracy of the Moderate High Command. They became a pledge-bound party to vote against the Moderates in all matters of policy. The Moderates alleged that among the Extremist delegates were gymnastic teachers, athletes, and sturdy labourers from factories, who went about with heavy sticks. The Moderate high-brows evidently did not like the presence of uneducated and burly factory workers as fellow delegates. The Extremist delegates numbered over 500, while the total number of the delegates was about 1200. Thus, the Moderates had a substantial majority—a fact which further exasperated the Extremists.

If the extremists were well organised, the Moderates were no less so. While the conduct of the Extremists was certainly impetuous, the attitude of the Moderates was equally provocative. If the Extremists had brought some people armed with lathis, the Reception Committee too imported Bohra Muslim goondas in and around the Pandal, and these, it may be added, were all armed with heavy sticks. The police also seems to have been long ready under requisition. Inflammatory leaflets in Gujarati asking the Gujarati people to teach a lesson to the leader from Maharasthra, Mr. Tilak, were widely distributed in the city, and even inside the Pandal. The connivance of the Moderates was not unjustly suspected.

The most objectionable thing which the Moderates did was the withholding of the draft resolutions from the Extremists till the actual session. No copy was given to the Extremists, even though a Bombay paper published the resolutions on the 26th. That showed that the withholding of a copy from Mr. Tilak could hardly have been unpremeditated. The draft resolutions were also so worded as to show that the Moderates wished to go back from the position taken in the Calcutta session. The contention of the Moderates that the changes were more verbal than real was unconvincing. A summary list which was alone published a few days before the session did not mention Self-Government, Boycott and National Education. The omission appeared to be significant. The Extremists took exception to another move on the part of the Moderates. A Draft Constitution of the Congress, prepared by Mr. Gokhale, and published a day or two earlier, showed that the Moderates were planning to oust all those from the Congress who did not see eye to eye with them in matters of policy. Even this Draft was allowed to reach Mr. Tilak only on the morning of 25th. The goal of the Congress was stated therein: "The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by the other members of the British Empire". Mr. Tilak, at once announced that the proposed constitution was a sinister attempt to tamper with the goal of self-government on the lines of self-governing colonies, as settled at Calcutta, and to shut out the Extremists form the Congress by making the acceptance of this new creed a condition of Congress membership.

On the 24th, the Extremists held a conference of their own under the presidentship of Mr. Aurobindo Ghosh, and decided that their party should frustrate the imminent retrogression of the Congress by all constitutional means, even by opposing the election of the President, if necessary. On the morning of 26th, the Extremists led by Messrs. Tilak, Khaparde, and Aurobindo Ghosh made the last attempt to obtain from the Moderates an assurance that the status quo would be maintained, but the attempt proved abortive. The response from Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji was non-committal, and Mr. Malaviya, Chairman of the Reception Committee, managed to avoid all contacts with the Extremist deputationists. It was clear that the Moderates wanted no compromise, for they were confident of their majority. It looked as if a fight was inevitable, and the fight came the same afternoon when the twenty-third Congress session opened in the old historic French Garden of Surat.

The Pandal, with seating capacity for over 7,000, was packed when the proceedings commenced amidst a scene of excitement. The excitement grew when the President-elect, Dr. Ghosh, was welcomed with cheering, mingled with the shouts of "Shame" from the Extremist ranks. The address of Mr. Malaviya, roused the fire of the Extremists who raised cries of "No, No", and frequently interrupted him, whenever they heard him talk about moderation. When Dewan Bahadur Ambalal proposed Dr. Ghosh as President, there were again cries of "No, No". And, when the old veteran of the Congress Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee rose to second, hooting became more intense. Mr. Banerjee's eloquence proved to be of no effect, and even though he made repeated attempts to raise his powerful voice not a word could be audible above the noisy uproar. The Chairman had then to suspend the session for the day. It is strange that no reconciliation was seriously attempted after the adjournment, and when on the next morning Mr. Tilak sought an honourable compromise, the negotiations again proved abortive.

The Congress met again next day. But, before the proceedings commenced, Mr. Tilak sent a message to the Chairman asking for permission to move an adjournment after the election of the President was seconded, but received no reply even after repeated reminders. The refusal to take notice of Mr. Tilak's request was not only discourteous, but was also unconstitutional. The adjournment motion could have been put before the house, and could also have been rejected by the majority. Even if the Chairman wanted to overrule the motion, he should have done so publicly. There was no need to sit tight over Mr. Tilak's request and ignore it without reason. After Mr. Banerjee had finished his speech without the least disturbance, Mr. Tilak who thought he was allotted a seat on the platform rose to go up the platform steps. He was held back by a volunteer, but he pushed his way up, and repeatedly insisted on his right of addressing the delegates. By this time there was a general disorder. Some of the Moderates wanted Mr. Tilak to be bodily removed, and the overzealous Secretary of the Committee actually touched Mr. Tilak's person to carry out the Chairman's order. If under these circumstances, Mr. Tilak was excited and he pushed the Secretary aside, his conduct, indiscreet as it was, was hardly unjustified. The provocation offered to him and his numerous admirers was no doubt very grave, and the subsequent disorder was due as much to the obstinate behaviour of the Moderates as to the defiance of the Extremists. During the confusion a shoe hurled on to the platform struck Sir Pherozeshah on the side of the face after touching Mr. Banerjee, both of whom sat within a yard of Mr. Tilak. And when, chairs were thrown at the platform, some Extremists rushed to the rescue of Mr. Tilak. The confusion became still more serious, when sticks were brandished and hurled at the platform, and disorderly blows were exchanged. No one was, however, seriously hurt. The police promptly came in, made some arrests and cleared the Pandal. Thus ended under the most painful circumstances, the twenty-third session of the Congress.

The heavy Maratha chappal which hit Sir Pherozeshah and Mr. Banerjee was a symbol making the unpleasant transition of Indian nationalism from a loyalist and upper-class agitation to an extremist, middle-class movement. Even in the unseemly rowdyism one can trace the birth-pangs of a new phase in Indian history—the dawn of a real nationalist movement and the rise of a revolutionary party outside the Congress. A yawning gulf separated the Moderates and the neo-nationalists whose paths lay wide apart. A split was bound to come, even if the Surat incident had not occurred. The split was narrowly averted at the Calcutta session, and it could not long have been postponed. The Anglo-Indian Press and the bureaucracy gloated over the seeming collapse of the Congress movement, and cited the Surat fiasco as a proof of the unfitness of Indians for self-government, conveniently ignoring the fact that worse incidents had been witnessed even in the British House of Commons.

Bṛhaspati Samhita alias Nitisara—A Social, Political and Cultural Study

BY

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Bṛhaspati Saṁhitā alias Nītisāra (i.e., the Science of Ethics and Expediency) is a part of Garuḍa Purāṇa. It has 8 chapters[1] and in its English translation covers 37 pages.[2] It purports to record the exhortations of Bṛhaspati to Indra. The efficacy of these teachings is vouchsafed by the fact that by acting on these principles Indra recovered his lost sovereignty from the demons.[3]

Time of Bṛhaspati Saṁhita

There are three mythological clues to determine the time of this piece, viz.,

(a) the description of Viṣṇu as 'cakrapāṇi';[4]

(b) the reference *by name* to the deities included in the list of the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu; and

(c) any *general* reference to the number of the incarnations of Viṣṇu.

Description of Viṣṇu as 'cakrapāṇi'

Viṣṇu is referred to at one place in Bālakāṇḍa (of Vāl. Rām.) as a bihanded ascetic who underwent austerities in Siddhavana to

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N.B. All citations in pages only are taken from "The Garuḍa Purāṇam" (Manmathnath Dutt Tr.), Calcutta, 1908.

[1] Chapters 108-115.

[2] pp. 415-351.

[3] p. 316.

[4] p. 342.

attain godhood.[5] Bālakāṇḍa belongs to I half of I cen. A.D.[6] Viṣṇu is represented as a bihanded standing figure with folded hands in the western verandah of Kailāśa Temple, Ellora. This relief is an archaeological survival of this theme. However, in Kailāśa Temple[7] and Daśāvatāra Cave Temple, Ellora,[8] was also find Viṣṇu being depicted as Śesanārāyaṇa with four hands, one of them holding a disc. In other words, by the time of these monuments the concept of Cakrapāṇi was fully and firmly established. The mythological clues in Daśāvatāra and Kailāśa point to their origin in cir. III and IV quarter of III cen. A.D. respectively.[9] So between the middle of III cen. A.D. (the time of Daśāvatāra) and I half of I cen. A.D. (the time of Bālakāṇḍa) Viṣṇu would have been bestowed with four hands. The reference to Viṣṇu as 'caturbhuja' in ch. XI of Garuḍa Purāṇa is associated with three other incarnations of this deity, viz., Kṛṣṇa, Varāha and Vāmana.[10] The time when only these three deities constituted the entire list of the incarnation of Viṣṇu, according to me, was cir. II half of II cen. A.D. to I half of III cen. A.D.[11] Thus about cir. II half of I cen. A.D. to I half of II cen. A.D., i.e., about the beginning of II cen. A.D. Viṣṇu got represented with four hands, one of which was later on equipped with a disc. So the time of this Saṁhitā should be fixed somewhere after the beginning of II cen. A.D.

Reference to Incarnations of Viṣṇu by Name

The reference to Kṛṣṇa,[12] Varāha,[13] Vāmana[13] and Rāma[14] only raises a very important mythological problem. Rāma is nowhere mentioned as the incarnation of Viṣṇu in this Saṁhitā. And it is a fact that once Rāma was respected as a great warrior and a devotee of Śiva only.[15] It is just possible that Rāma might not have been raised to the status of incarnation of Viṣṇu at the time of this Saṁhitā. If so, the time of this composition will have to be fixed in a period when Vāmana was included in this list but Rāma was not, i.e., about the beginning of III cen. A.D. If it were conceded that Rāma's reference in this Saṁhitā is also a proof of his being elevated to the dignity of incarnationhood of Viṣṇu (for which there is no visible evidence) the time of this piece will be pushed forward to some period later than the first quarter of IV cen. A.D. But it cannot be later than the end of IV cen. A.D. when Paraśurāma was included in this list.[16]

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[5] Bal. (Val. Ra) 29/2-4.

[6] Tiwari: Time of Bālakāṇḍa (Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa): Journal of Oriental Research Institute, Baroda, II/1/17.

[7] Kailāśa Temple, Ellora: Northern Wall, from west to east, Relief No. 5.

[8] Daśavatāra Cave Temple, Ellora: Northern Wall, west to east, Relief No. 2.

[9] Tiwari: Indian Iconography and Mythology (Anand 1957), p. 19.

[10] pp. 26-30.

[11] Tiwari: Garuḍa Purāna — A Study of Its Mythology: Poona Orientalist, XXIII/3-4/36.

[12] p. 334.

[13] p. 353.

[14] p. 336.

General reference to the number of Incarnattions of Viṣṇu

The stray reference to the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu[17] in this place seems to me an interpolation. If not, the statement about the ten-incarnations points to the possibility about the time of this composition. Harivaṁśa refers to ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu wherein, instead of Buddha, Vedavyāsa is mentioned.[18] The time of this list falls somewhere about the end of V cen. A.D.[19] If it were to be believed that the reference to the ten-incarnations should be taken to mean the present-day list (viz., Matsya, Kaccha, Varāha, Vāmana, Nṛsiṁha, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki), the time of this Saṁhitā will have to be fixed in VI cen. A.D.,[20] possibly, somewhere after the second quarter of VI cen. A.D.

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15. Tiwari: Indian Iconography and Mythology, p. 14.
16. Tiwari: Viśṇuṣahasranāma — A Mythological Study (Journal of Vikrama University, II/4/136).
17. p. 335.
18. Harivamsa I/41/28-38; III/34/33-51.
19. Tiwari: Viṣṇusahasranāma — A Mythological Study, p. 136.
20. *ibid*, p. 136; Tiwari: "Garuḍa Purāṇa — A Mythological Study" (Poona Orientalist, XXIII/3-4/p. 38.

Thus the following picture emerges about the time of this Saṁhita :

Clue	Probable Period
(1) Reference to Cakrapāṇi.	About the beginning of II cen. A.D.
(2) Reference to Kṛṣṇa, Varāha, and Vāmana	Before I quarter of IV cen. A.D.
(3) If Rāma be also accepted as an incarnation	Middle of IV cen. A.D.
(4) If the list of ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu were according to Harivaṁśa	About I half of VI cen. A.D.
(5) If the list of ten-incarnations were to be taken in the present sense	After II half of VI cen. A.D.

It may be argued that the mere reference to the round thighs of Rāma, to the swiftfootedness of Lakṣmaṇa and the beauty of the hair of Sītā or to her lifelong sufferings in spite of the officiation of Vaśiṣṭha in her marriage-ceremony[21] cannot be even cumulatively taken as sufficient grounds for believing that Rāma was by that time regarded as the incarnation of Viṣṇu. If so, the time of this Saṁhitā should be fixed about the close of III cen. A.D. Otherwise, as can be suggested from the reference to the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu, its time should be fixed either about I half of VI cen. A.D. (the time of Harivaṁśa) or after II half of VI cen. A.D. However, it appears that this Saṁhitā was composed about the end of III cen. A.D. and was retouched in cir. VI or VII A.D. This explains the reference to three incarnations of Viṣṇu by name and also the general reference to His ten-incarnations as well.

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Social Condition

(a) *Varṇas*: *Brahmins.*

The Brahmins were regarded as the noblest of mankind[22] who had acquired the prerogative of reading the Vedas as a fruit of performing Agnihotra[23] (in their previous lives). It was incumbent on the Brahmins to worship gods, to propitiate the fellow Brahmins and to perform (to officiate in) Horse-sacrifices to atone for the sins of the most aggravated nature.[24] Knowledge was regarded as the ornament of Brahmins.[25] Kings were advised to be pleasantly disposed towards them[26] and to dedicate themselves for the good of cows and Brahmins.[27] It was believed that the kings collected money only to leave its residue at the disposal of the Brahmins after providing for their own legitimate demands.[28] It was asserted that whatever was used by the Brahmins was properly used. Hence all were advised to feed Brahmins at all cost. He who partook the residue from the platter of the Brahmins alone ate in the right way,[29] it was emphasised. Non-invitation to a feast was regarded as an insult to a Brahmin.[30] However, the Brahmins were expected to be learned as the very presence of an illiterate Brahmin was to be shunned.[31]

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[21] p. 336.

[22] p. 350.

It was believed that the merit of the gift to a Brahmin ran through eternity[32] and that the prosperity of even a king could be ended by the mere curse of a Brahmin.[33] This helped the accumulation of wealth in their hands but nothing could secure it from being robbed away. Brahmins were insulted and even killed. Although one who robbed a Brahmin was regarded as depraved, the sin of Brahminicide was expiable.[34]

Other Varṇas.

Like an illiterate Brahmin, a dastardly Kṣatriya, a lazy Vaisya and a literate Śūdra were to be shunned.[35] The disbelief in the Kṣatriyas is obvious from the advice about no trust in any armed soldier.[36] That the caste system was undergoing radical transformation can be guessed from the statement that the dishonest, the wicked, the crooked and the invalid constituted the four categories of Cāṇḍālas, the fifth being that of the accident of birth.[37]

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[23] p. 324.
[24] p. 316.
[25] p. 324.
[26] p. 330.
[27] p. 333.
[28] p. 329.
[29] p. 350.
[30] p. 321.
[31] p. 316.
[32] pp. 323, 326.
[33] p. 351.
[34] p. 345.
[35] p. 316.
[36] p. 320.

(b) *Learning, Teaching and Education.*

It was held that truth alone was the object of adoration of the wiṣe persons.[38] Learned persons were expected not to be content in discoursing with good and sincere persons.[39] A good word even from a child was to be considered seriously.[40] Learning was prized as the best and secure treasure, beyond the reach of any thief. It heightened the personal charms of a person, made him honest, virtuous, and endearing, and enabled him to get better friends and relatives. A man without knowledge was regarded as an animal.[41] Writing with ink was known.[41a]

Teaching was held in high respect. It was believed that knowledge imparted was knowledge gained.[42] However, one had to be very careful in picking up pupils because of the belief that even learned persons came to grief by teaching unworthy students.[43] Knowledge in a man of cunning nature was regarded as useless.[44] Ill-acquired knowledge was regarded as a poison.[44a]

Those who did not receive education in their childhood were pitied because the happiness born out of good education was regarded as eternal.[45] Those who neglected their studies in childhood due to excessive attachment to games were regarded as human mammals.[46] Similarly, the parents who disregarded the education of their children were regarded as the latter's enemies.[47] People were advised not to stay at home just for indulging in eating but to travel in post haste to distant places for studies[48] in different sciences to develop their faculty of original thinking.[49] It was admitted that knowledge could be acquired gradually.[50] To relieve undue emphasis on bookishness, learning had to be supplemented by noble nature.[51] Learned persons were advised to test their own actions on the touch stone of Śāstric injunctions.[52] Non-cultivation of learning was regarded as a blow to knowledge.[53] No sense of false delicacy was to be observed in matters pertaining to learning.[54] Though the illiterates were frankly advised not to attempt at shining in the company of the learned,[55] they successfully covered their ignorance under the facade of silence.[56] The impossibility of acquiring perfect knowledge was recognised. Similarly, it was also admitted that one could not be totally ignorant. The distinction between Erudite, Idiot and an Average Intellectual was held to be relative only.[57] No wise person was to believe in the infallibility of his knowledge.[58]

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[37] p. 345.
[38] p. 319.
[39] p. 322.
[40] p. 325.
[41] p. 353.
[41a] p. 334.
[42] p. 336.
[43] p. 315.
[44] p. 319.
[44a] p. 341.
[45] p. 323.
[46] p. 326.
[47] p. 353.
[48] p. 323.
[49] p. 350.
[50] pp. 323, 325.

The chief purpose of the acquisition of knowledge was money. Poor, ill-clad, rough-haired Brahmins, even though learned, remained unnoticed by the rich.[59]

Domestic and Family Life.

Marriage.

Failure to secure a wife was pitied.[60] However, one did not go in for marriage with any girl. A suitable girl was selected for it. A girl of noble descent bereft of personal charms was preferred for marriage to one who was beautiful but of obscure parents.[61] However, a good and virtuous wife was taken even from a family of questionable morals.[62] A woman with blue eyes, black and fierce like a tigress, with a cow-like tongue, eccentric, foul-mouthed in rage and fond of staying in other's home was not to be selected for matrimonial purposes.[63] Sexual intercourse and off-springs were the only objects of marriage.[64] Separate bed was regarded as a penalty for a wife.[65] A man was allowed to take a second wife after 8 years if his first wife bore him no issue,[66] after 9 years if her children died in infancy and after 11 years if she gave birth to daughters only. A foul-mouthed wife was to be instantaneously discarded[67] because supremacy of (such) ladies in a family was regarded as a sure portent of its ruin.[68] Uneasy marital relations can be suspected in certain cases from the reference to a couple physically together but mentally estranged.[69] Similarly, the bad pairing in marriage can be inferred from the statement about the waste of beauty of a blind's wife.[70]

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[51] p. 326.
[52] p. 336.
[53] p. 321.
[54] p. 327.
[55] p. 353.
[56] p. 360.
[57] p. 327.
[58] p. 343.
[59] p. 348.
[60] p. 326.
[61] p. 324.
[62] p. 325.
[63] pp. 317-18.
[64] p. 324.
[65] p. 321.
[66] pp. 351-52.

Good and Bad Wives.

Virtuous, clean and well-toiletted, little-talking and less-eating, sweet-speaking, clever in household affairs, and ever yielding to her lord's procreative desires, devoted to his happiness,[71] one in spirit with him,[72] and one who was not proud of her charms was regarded as a good wife.[73] A person with good appetite and plenty to eat,[74] residing in a splendid building in the company of beautiful, loving and jem-bedecked wife[75] and other handsome ladies with capacity to satisfy them all in marital relations[76] was regarded as a happy man. A scolding, quarrelsome wife attached to some other person, fond of staying shamelessly in other's home, was regarded as a prelude to death.[77] Such a bad wife was to be shunned from a distance[78] because when provoked she proved fatal[79] like a serpent[80] and deserted her husband in adversity.[81] A scolding wife was compared to a blade of sword which cut into one's heart[82] and even learned people came to grief for maintaining such a wicked consort.[83] People were allowed to protect themselves by sacrificing their wives.[84]

Female Infidelity.

Doubt in the spotless pedigree of all persons[85] and the advice to son as to not to think about the amours of his mother in her youth out of the sense of decency[86] were supplemented by an open confession of deep distrust in female morals. Prudent persons did not give publicity to the instances of female infidelity in their own homes. Low and wicked company, long separation from husband, excessive and indulgent fondling, residence in another's house, free[87] and independent living,[88] instinctive sex-urges, some nook of advantage, abundant leisure, overtures from others,[89] excessive beauty[90] and lonely place[91] led to female lapses into immoral deeds. Meat diet, emulsive fares, good costumes, flowers, perfumes and wine helped in arousing amorous fancies in them. It was emphasised that ladies knew no satisfaction in sexual matters and even thought of their father, brother or son, if handsome and well-dressed, heated their passions.[92] Incest was not unknown[93] and people were advised against staying in lonely places with their daughters, sisters, friend's wife or step-mother.[94] It was believed that women were four-times as much cunning and eight-times as much amorous as men.[95] Possibly, to prevent people from moral lapses it was urged that man was lost by lust.[96]

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[67] p. 352.
[68] p. 351.
[69] p. 353.
[70] p. 324.
[71] p. 317.
[72] p. 324.
[73] p. 351.
[74] p. 324.
[75] pp. 322-23, 325.
[76] pp. 324.
[77] p. 317.
[78] p. 346.
[79] p. 340.
[80] pp. 317-18.
[81] p. 329.
[82] p. 348.
[83] p. 315.
[84] p. 318.
[85] p. 320.
[86] p. 340.

Female Nature.

A (bad) woman was regarded as incorrigible, incomprehensible and invincible by flattery, jewels, frankness,[97] gifts, respect, courtesy, nursing, knowledge,[98] etc. She was capable of setting at naught the injunctions of the Sastras. Threat of violence was of no avail against her[99] and chastisement could simply soften[100] but could not correct her.[101] Though it was asserted that no one was impervious to female charms,[102] people were advised against believing in woman. While people courted others' wives their own wives dallied with others.[103] Young and beautiful ladies, proud and conscious of their charms led gay life.[104] People were advised to avoid the bed of ladies older than them[105] as it tended to reduce one's strength and vitality.[106] Great disparity in the age of the husband and wife can be inferred from the statement: "A young wife is a poison to an old man though by far the sweetest of all things is a young bride to a man of advanced years."[107] People connived at the whoredom of their own wives in spite of the admonition that gods and manes did not accept offerings at the hands of such wretches.[108]

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[87] p. 320.
[88] p. 316.
[89] p. 340.
[90] pp. 346-47.
[91] p. 339.
[92] p. 322.
[93] p. 316.
[94] p. 339.
[95] p. 322.
[96] p. 350.
[97] p. 323.
[98] p. 325.
[99] p. 323.
[100] p. 351.
[101] pp. 325, 341.
[102] p. 321.
[103] p. 351.
[104] p. 340.
[105] pp. 341, 342, 343
[106] p. 342.

Position of Ladies.

Separate and independent life was denied to ladies and father, husband and son protected her in childhood, maturity and old age respectively.[109]

Courtesan.

Public women, like a public high way, belonged to the whole community. It was incumbent on all to protect them from molestation and insult.[110] People drank wine and visited them and the latter regaled their patrons till they could behave decently. These courtesans wore perpetual smiles, hammered out horse laugh, sold their person for money[111] and pretended false love.[112] They served their patrons till they had money[113] and often met a violent death.[114] People visiting them could not be reclaimed though it was emphasised that it was better to live in hell than in the house of ill-fame.[114a]

Family.

Family life was regarded as a seminary of applied ethics: "Fatherhood is a synopsis of the moral economy of the universe and the marriage is a pledge of its realization on earth".[115] A wise and virtuous son was preferred to a hundred illiterate ones.[116] Preservation of the health of the children[117] and their education were the uppermost duties of a father.[118] So fathers were advised against too much fondling of their sons.[119] A son was to be fondled for first five years, tutored for the next ten and at the age of sixteen was to be regarded as a friend and adviser to his father.[120] But the birth of a son was not always welcome. It is stated, "A son, as soon as he is born, monopolises the love of his mother. Coming into age, he usurps his father's estate. His doleful look is a death to the parents. A son is the worst enemy a father may possibly have".[121] Sometimes wives and children forsook a man in distress.

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[107] p. 341.
[108] p. 345.
[109] p. 351.
[110] p. 345.
[111] p. 340.
[112] p. 350.
[113] p. 319.
[114] p. 340.
[114a] p. 318.
[115] p. 352.
[116] p. 344.
[117] p. 341.
[118] p. 325.
[119] p. 347.

The eldest brother was to act as a guardian to his younger brothers after the death of their father and look after them with loving care as his own sons. The younger brothers were also advised to look upon their eldest brother as their father.[122] Sometimes there were dissensions among them.[123] The good name of a family in which female children alone were born was regarded to be always in danger.[124] The character of the members was regarded as the foundation of the good name of the family.[125]

The maintenance of the members made the family dreadful to the poor persons.[126] The well-to-do persons were expected to help their relatives[127] and that earning alone was praised which was spent in it.[128] However, rich persons many times insulted their poor relatives which cut into the heart of the humiliated party.[129] Hence the advice that false (unhelpful) relatives were to be avoided.[130]

A Happy Person.

He who contented with the honestly earned income from some honest trade,[131] lived happily with clean, devoted, virtuous, well-toiletted, sweet-tongued, frugally eating and sexually agreeable wife[132] (or wives[133]) and spent his time in intellectual pursuits, self-control and hospitality[134] in the spirit of dedication to the God and the Brahmins was regarded as the truly blessed person.[135]

120. p. 344.
121. p. pp. 344-45.
122. p.345.
123. p 3.48.
124. p. 325.
125. p. 324.
126. p. 341.
127. p. 349.
128. p. 351.
129. p. 347.
130. p. 346.
131. p. 322.
132. p. 317.
133. p. 322.
134. pp. 322, 325.
135. p. 325.

Friendship :

The need of a true friend was so keenly felt that he who failed to secure one for him in youth was regarded as unlucky[136] and exposed to perpetual dangers.[137] The best, virtuous[138] and greedless person,[139] won over by respect,[140] in whom confidence could be reposed was alone to be chosen for friendship[141] because friendship of such a person yielded eternal happiness.[142] Adversity was the true test of a friend[143] and friendship of lofty soul endured[144] (such tests). People were not to force any one into friendship.[145] Some friends spoke sweet words in one's presence and slandered at his back. A true friend was one who spoke good of his friend even at his back.[146] Quarrel with a trusted friend was to be guarded against[147] and breach with him, if required, was allowed only at a proper time.[148]

Vulgar,[149] wicked,[150] deceitful persons who betrayed him once,[151] those who served or mixed with one's enemy[152] were to be shunned from a distance[153] because insincere person deserted his friend in adversity[154] and became prelude to his death.[155] Friendship of a vulgar person was regarded as transcient.[156] One was to avoid not only discourse with a vulgar but even his presence.[157] Evil company led to depravity.[158] Hence a well-meaning enemy was to be preferred to a hostile friend.[159] Deceitful friends were coldly greeted by way of punishment.[160] It was emphasised that there was no love for love's sake on this earth. People made friendship with persons of power and wealth for selfish ends.[161] And as such, it was believed that friendship or enmity grew out of self-interest, otherwise no body was anybody's friend or foe intrinsically.[162] People were advised to embrace whatever suffering or even commit suicide rather than beg help from (wicked) friends[163] as begging reduced the status of a person.[164] However, ingratitude was avoided as it knew no expiation.[165]

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[136] p. 325.
[137] p. 320.
[138] p. 315.
[139] p. 316.
[140] p. 319.
[141] p. 317.
[142] p. 323.
[143] pp. 319, 321.
[144] p. 326.
[145] p. 341.
[146] p. 350.
[147] p. 3135.
[148] p. 316.
[149] p. 317.
[150] p. 315.
[151] p. 329.
[152] p3 315.
[153] p. 346.
[154] p. 319.
[155] p. 317.
[156] p. 350.
[157] p. 315.
[158] pp. 315-16.
[159] p. 316.
[160] p. 321.
[161] p. 319.

Dietitics :

Though only curd, dried meat,[166] grapes and clarified butter are directly referred to as articles of food, there is no reason to believe that other articles were absent. The use of fresh butter, grapes and milk potion was recommended as tending to good health.[167] Digestible[168] and toothsome food was alone to be taken[169] after good digestion.[170] Untried wine, partaking of curd in night, dried meat, excessive intake of water[171] and more than two days old curd were avoided as being injurious to health. Dining with one's wives, friends or the king of the country was avoided as a precaution against misunderstanding. Voracious appetite was a portent of one's ruin.[172] Gluttons were excluded from the state service.[173] It was believed that ladies ate three times as much as the males.[174] Possibly, to ensure a good supply of fruits, people were asked not to cut down trees for their fruits.[175]

Economic Institutions.

Failure to acquire money in youth was condemned[176] and one who could appease the ladies of his house with money was deemed learned.[177] However, people were advised to earn their livelihood by some honest trade and rest contented with honest gains.[178] Honesty and fairness in the means of earning were emphasised.[179] Similarly, no sense of false delicacy in money matters was enjoined.[180] Seeking money alone was regarded as vulgar.[181] The rich were

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162. p. 339.
163. p. 334.
164. p. 320.
165. p. 345.
166. pp. 341, 342.
167. p. 342.
168. p. 341.
169. p. 342.
170. p. 321.
171. p. 341.
172. p. 342.
173. p. 332.
174. p. 321.
175. p. 341.
176. p. 326.
177. p. 341.
178. p. 322.
179. p. 337.
180. p. 327.
181. p. 347.

expected to help the needy with their wealth.[182] People were advised not to live in a place which had no rich persons.[183] However, benevolence with stolen money was condemned.[184]

Merchants acted dishonestly,[185] fattened on usury[186] and even beat the artisans.[187] In spite of the advice that the net result of money was misery[188] and that greed was ruinous,[189] misers kept on crying for money and hoarded wealth without knowing its use[190] although charity and enjoyment were accepted as the normal uses of money.[191] Ultimately, such hoarded money found its way into the pockets of the king or thieves[192] or their own impatient sons,[193] leaving the greedy to lament its loss due to his failure to defend it.[194] Loss of money led also to the loss of wives and friends.[195] Supplicants for money were turned down and even left helpless without friends and relatives.[196] Money of a rich deceased was divided among his successors[197] sometimes through litigation.[198] Proud opulent persons[199] living in well-furnished[199a] brick-built[200] splendid houses [201] wasted money[202] believing that wealth could not be consumed by enjoyment.[203] So it was deemed impossible that a rich person could renounce the world.[204] Wealthy people wore jewels[205] set in gold[206] on their heads.[207] Silver, iron and wood[208] were used at their proper places.

Poor People and Their Sufferings:

Excessive toil[209] and hardships attended the attempts of the poor persons at eking out their livelihood.[210] They passed sleep-less nights[211] and begged from door to door[212] even though begging was condemned.[213] Poor persons, on their failure to maintain their families,[214] adopted foul means like robbing,[215] stealing[216] etc., in spite of the admonition not to take away other's property.[217] Such persons were advised never to covet the wealth of any mighty person.[218] Sometimes they had to bow before their enemy also.[219] They contracted debts[220] which inflicted endless pangs on them.[221] The reference to slaves[222] might suggest that these indebted persons (on their failure to pay off their creditors) were, possibly, sold away in slavery.

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[182] p. 349.
[183] p. 327.
[184] p. 345.
[185] p. 347.
[186] p. 345.
[187] p. 321.
[188] p. 351.
[189] p. 350.
[190] p. 321.
[191] p. 324.
[192] p. 321.
[193] p. 344.
[194] p. 321.
[195] p. 329.
[196] p. 352.
[197] p. 320.
[198] p. 321.
[199] p. 320.
[199a] p. 353.
[200] p. 322.
[201] p. 325.
[202] p. 351.
[203] p. 344.
[204] p. 341.
[205] pp. 325, 326.
[206] p. 326.
[207] 325.
[208] p. 326.
[209] 321.
[210] p. 327.

Power of money :

That money had then become the most powerful social asset can be inferred from the statement: "He who has money, has many friends. He who has money has many relatives—he who has it is a learned man".[223] People were advised to protect themselves by sacrificing both their treasure and wives.[224] Though gold in the hands of a greedy was looked down, people could take it from the hands of even a man of impure descent.[225]

Professions :

Reference to jewel-studded gold ornaments suggests the presence of jewellers and goldsmiths and inlayers. Similarly, the brick-built splendid well-furnished mansions of the rich would have required the services of architects, bricklayers, artisans, masons, manual workers, carpenters, etc. The references to washerwomen,[225a] courtesans, astrologers, physicians, Srotriya[226] and moneylenders[227] suggests their presence as well. Similarly, references to curd, mutton, wine and fruits would suggest the existence of cattle-rearers, butchers, distillers and fruit-growers respectively. The highly developed civilization, evident in this Saṁhitā, would have been buttressed by all the requisite professions necessary for its material and economic foundations.

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[211] p. 352.
[212] p. 324.
[213] p. 320.
[214] p. 341.
[215] p. 345.
[216] p. 321.
[217] p. 316.
[218] p. 325.
[219] p. 321.
[220] p. 356.
[221] p. 347.
[222] p. 352.
[223] p. 329.
[224] p. 318.
[225] p. 319.
[225a] p. 343.
[226] p. 327.
[227] p. 345.

Domestic Servants:

People were advised to employ devoted servants in their houses[228] and servants were exhorted to obey their masters.[229] A haughty servant was regarded as an anomaly.[230] Argumentative servants[231] were set right by beating.[232] Service under/[233] a vulgar master was to be avoided as undependable.[234] Masters were expected to help their servants.[205] People were advised to ascertain the antecedents of persons whom they wanted to serve[236] because a servant was honoured according to the social position of his master.[237] Servants, like ornaments, were kept and used in their proper places.[238] That the lot of the servants was on the whole unsatisfactory can be inferred from the statement: "Living without serving anybody's will, is true living".[239]

Travels to Distant Places:

Visits to distant places were undertaken[240] by chariot[240a] or through fatiguing pedestrial journeys[241] either for pilgrimages[242] or money-earning[243] or learning.[244] The place which did not have a king, an astrologer, a Strotriya, a river, a true anchorite, a rich man, a physician[245] or where the central government lay in the hands of an infant or a woman or an irresponsible person[246] or which offered no friend or pleasure or means of earning livelihood or where people walked on the path of inequity[247] and did not have law[248] or the dread of law or the sense of shame or mercy or

[228] p. 325.
[229] p. 317.
[230] p. 347.
[231] p. 317.
[232] p. 321.
[233] p. 347.
[234] p. 350.
[235] p. 349.
[236] pp. 319-20.
[237] p. 352.
[238] p. 325.
[239] p. 351.
[240] p. 342.
[240a] cf. 343.
[241] p. 347.
[242] p. 324.
[243] p. 317.
[244] p. 320.
[245] p. 327.
[246] p. 351.
[247] pp. 318-19.
[248] p. 351.

charity[249]—such a bad country was to be shunned from a distance.[250] While staying in any outside place they were advised to do what the inhabitants of that place did, mix with them, win their favour and thereby serve their interests.[251] When tumbled out of fortune, people resorted to pilgrimage to some distant shrine.[251*]

Fauna:

Amongst the mammalians are mentioned horse,[251a] elephant [251b], ass, sheep, goat, camel,[251c] bull,[251d] cat,[251e] bear.[251f] Also are referred to fish,[251g] heron and swan,[251h] from among the non-mammalians.

Political Institutions:

King:

The king was regarded as the strength of the weak,[251i] Being eulogised as an ornament of the earth,[252] he was to be touched with head only, never with feet.[253] About the origin of monarchy it was believed that, like lion, brave persons were the born lords of their species.[254] Even gods were supposed to fear the person who had energy, daring, fortitude, strength, valour and intelligence.[255] Like petals of a flower, brave either became king or died in some lonely forest because a brave person brooked no rival.[256]

Intellectual and Psychological Equipment of King:

Though nothing is said about the education of a prince, as a king he was to remain truthful,[257] respect the learned,[258] sit in the assembly of the old,[259] erudite and honest persons even when in bondage, and scrupulously keep himself away from the wicked, unrighteous and the malicious. He was to prefer a noble enemy to a wicked friend[260] because trust could be reposed in a well-meaning enemy.[261] The king was never to defy the injunctions of the Śāstras and the dictates of reason.[262] A king without knowledge was linkened to a blind man walking in dark.[263] Even in the midst of victory and prosperity, he was to devote himself to self-realization because of the perishable character of the worldly riches.[264] It was believed that a king of lofty and ennobling virtues was not disgraced even after his defeat.[265] However, a king bereft of sovereignty was given up by his ministers.[265a]

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[249] p. 327.
[250] p. 346.
[251] p. 350.
[251*] p. 324.
[251a] pp. 324, 326, 340.
[251b] pp. 324, 326, 343, 345, 348.
[251c] p. 343.
[251d] pp. 343, 348.
[251e] p. 344.
[251f] p. 348.
[251g] p. 348.
[251h] p. 353.
[251i] p. 350.
[252] p. 334.
[253] p. 325.
[254] p. 347.
[255] p. 330.
[256] p. 326.
[257] p. 330.
[258] p. 353.
[259] p. 350.
[260] p. 333.

The psychological make up of a king consisted in cultivating indifference to pleasure and pain, banishing fickleness in dealing, never giving vent to grief or despondency in defeat or discomfiture avoiding luxurious habits or excessive trust in friends or relatives[266] and scrutinizing all the aspects of the proposed action before working on it.[267] The king whose senses had lost their vigour was bound to fall.[268]

Principles of State Policy:

The king was advised to be pleasantly disposed towards his subjects[269] to become their darling[270] and win over the hearts of his sons, servants and friends by avoiding to shout at or frown on them. Unjust or groundless chastisement resulted in attempt at regicide through poison.[271] Ousted from his kingdom he retired into some forest on the pretext of hunting.[272]

Ideal of State Polity:

The king having bridled his senses and dedicated himself to the service of gods, world and the Brahmins, was to rule according to the principles of religion, truth and justice for the advancement of order and prosperity because the credit for the fame, valour and strength of the state belonged to its king.[273] He was to keep the prince, servants and priests alert because failure to do so was bound to result in his fall.[274] Nor was he to allow any combination within his state against him because union of even insignificant straw pieces could bind an elephant.[275] He could sacrifice one member for the benefit of a family, a family for a village and a village for the state.[276]

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[261] p. 316.
[262] p. 330.
[263] p. 329.
[264] p. 328.
[265] p. 326.
[265a] p. 319.
[266] p. 330.
[267] p. 333.
[268] p. 332.
[269] p. 330.
[270] p. 322.
[271] p. 330.
[272] p. 324.
[273] p. 328.

King and His Subject:

People were advised to avoid all personal connections with the king,[277] never to trust him[278] or any person of the royal blood because kings bore no true love for any one.[279] The claim of friendship with a prince was regarded as an absurdity.[280] A false (wicked) king was to be shunned from a distance.[281]

State Servants:

Though it was admitted that contented, laborious, vigilant, devoted and easily arousable servants were rare,[282] king was to secure the services of able and qualified persons in whom all virtues were naturally found and reject the incompetent and wicked persons. Foolish, illiterate,[283] arrogant, gluttonous, dishonest, spiteful and those bereft of fortitude, character and honesty[284] were to be excluded from state service. Unbounded faith even in a trustworthy servants led to betrayal of their master's secrets.[285] Though the king was to be pleasantly disposed towards his servants[286] and help them,[287] he was to protect them without violating the rules of statecraft.[288] Successful fulfilment of his mission was regarded as the true test of a servant.[289] It was noted that those servants who showed themselves as silent, valorous, truthful, self-controlled and capable in the beginning and exhibited contrary qualities later on bode no good for their master.[290] Servants were divided into 3 categories, viz., good, bad and indifferent; and they were to be posted to offices suited to their capacities.[291] No servant was to be allowed to grow rich, powerful and influential[292] because people respected state servants by their office and position.[293]

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[274] pp. 329-30.
[275] p. 345.
[276] p. 318.
[277] p. 319.
[278] p. 343.
[279] p. 320.
[280] p. 325.
[281] p. 346.
[282] p. 332.
[283] p. 333.
[284] p. 332.
[285] pp. 343-44.
[286] p. 330.
[287] p. 349.
[288] p. 330.
[289] p. 321.
[290] p. 332.
[291] p. 331.

Special Qualifications for Office-bearers:

The following high officials are mentioned in this Saṁhitā, viz.—., (1) governor, (2) commander-in-chief, (3) royal jeweller, (4) palace warder, (5) secretary, (6) ambassador, (7) high priest, (8) royal cook,[294] (9) physician, (10) astrologer, (11) computer, (12) head of civic corporation[295] and (13) minister.[295a]

Apart from emphasis on conduct, character, parentage and past acts of the candidates, some special qualifications were laid down for the specialised posts. A person of noble birth and high character, gifted with truthfulness, honesty, handsomeness and catholicity of views was to be appointed as governor. A person who could test gold, silver and precious stones was to become royal jeweller. The commander-in-chief was to be a person who could detect the comparative strength and weakness of the enemy-army and had an eye for detecting the point of vantage in the battlefield.. A vigilant, handsome person capable of interpreting the gestures of his master and successful in dealing or warding off a blow was to be warder of the palace. The secretary was to be an intelligent, wise, truthful and self-controlled person who was adept in all the branches of the Śāstras. The royal ambassador was to be a man of profound understanding, clear comprehension, adept in the art of simulation, ready witted and gifted with the capacity of understanding other's mind. A hero in soul and virtue, adept in Vedas and Vedāṅgas, possessed of vast erudition, perfect self-control and always devoted to meditation and sacrifices was to be appointed as the high priest of the realm. A truthful, hardy person with clean habits whose father and grandfather were serving as royal cooks was to be entrusted with the kitchen. One with mastery in the science and practice of medicines, virtuous, frank, perfectly healthy, sincere and friendly to all was to act as royal physician.[296] Spies were regarded as the eyes of the king;[297] and a person capable of finding out the hidden working of another's mind from his mien, demeanour, contortions of face and eyes without the help of any articulate speech was to be selected for this job.[298] The advice to dismiss secretary, astrologer, computer and head of a civic corporation if found wanting in their respective duties[299] supports the statement that a close watch was kept on the servants during their service.[300] Sometimes they were beaten[301] by way of punishment.

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[292] p. 332.
[293] p. 353.
[294] p. 331.
[295] cf. p. 332.
[295a] cf. p. 319.
[296] pp. 331-32.
[297] p. 329.

Treasury :

Receipt:

Land revenue[302] income tax, exploitation of the resources of the conquered territories[303] and money obtained by escheat[304] are referred to. Possibly, plunder and tribute also helped the treasury. In the interest of his subjects the sovereign was advised to keep his treasury well-replenished[305] through daily additions[306] by cultivating the science of money-making.[307] Like a bee culling out juice from the flowers without destroying them or like a milkman milking his cow without starving its calf[308] or a floralist making festoons from flowers without uprooting their trees, the king was to collect money without imposing hardships upon the subjects[309] or starving the offsprings of the cultivators.[310] From the produce or profit the state could charge only one-tenth.[311] It was believed that kings knew no gratification in the acquisition of wealth.[312] The reference to royal granary suggests that the revenue could be paid in kind also.[313]

Expenditure:

After providing for his own legitimate demands the king was to spend the residue of his yearly income[314] on Aśvamedha[315] or for the benefit of the cows and Brahmins.[316] The feeding of the Brahmins[317] and the patronage of the scholars[318] and courtesans[319] were charges on the exchequer. The salary of the state-servants,[320] preparation and execution of wars[321] espionage,[322] bribe to the enemy-subject,[323] equipment of the army and the maintenance of arsenals in forts[324] would have been regular features of the state-budget and would have consumed a lion's share of the income.

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[298] pp. 323-34.
[299] p. 332.
[300] p. 333.
[301] p. 321.
[302] p. 333.
[303] p. 328.
[304] p. 321.
[305] p. 329.
[306] p. 334.
[307] p. 330.
[308] p. 333.
[309] pp. 328, 333.
[310] p. 333.
[311] p. 328.
[312] p. 322.
[313] p. 333.
[314] p. 329.
[315] cf. p. 316.

Administrative Divisions :

The reference to the appointment of an officer for the management of the realm[325] suggests that the state was divided into provinces and each province had a governor. Villages are referred to.[326] So it is fair to presume that some administrative division like the present-day district stood between the province and the village. Hence, it might be said that village was the smallest administrative unit. Villages were lumped into a district and a group of districts formed a province.

Anti-social Elements:

Indigent persons resorted to lies[327] and during night time[328] stole the property of the rich.[329] Even the property of gods and Brahmins was not spared. Some even killed Brahmins.[330] Culprits were tried in the court. There is no clue in the Saṁhitā about the organization of judiciary. The penalty for theft was death.[331] Drinking,[332] gambling[332a] insulting others[333] and fault-finding[334] were, possibly, widespread.

Enemy :

A king was to be neither straight nor too crooked in dealing with his enemy.[335] Similarly, he was not to be tough with mild enemy and vice versa although he was to keep them all engaged in some danger.[336] Whether dealing with his subject or enemy, the greedy were to be taken in by wealth, the proud by the show of humility, the fools by praise, the wise by truth, the Brahmins by genuine goodness, the vulgar by food and drinks, the crafty through dissensions, the low by gifts and concessions and one's rivals by the exhibition of force.[337] Regarding the state-secrets he was to remember that a counsel between three soon leaked out, between two remained undisclosed for some time and one who kept his counsel to himself remained inscrutable even for Brahmā.[338] Even when enemy rendered him some service,[339] he was not to repose undue confidence in him to avoid his own fall[340] like a person perched on the top of a tree.[341] The life of an enemy was never to be spared in the battlefield[342] nor were his offerings, to avoid future troubles.[343]

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[316] p. 333.
[317] p. 350.
[318] cf. 353.
[319] cf. p. 330.
[320] cf. pp. 331-32.
[321] cf. pp. 331-32.
[322] cf. p. 329.
[323] cf. p. 319.
[324] cf. p. 332.
[325] p. 331.
[326] p. 318.
[327] p. 350.
[328] p. 352.
[329] p. 321.
[330] p. 345.
[331] p. 321.
[332] p. 345.
[332a] p. 339.
[333] p. 348.
[334] p. 338.
[335] p. 344.
[336] p. 325.

War :

Science of warfare was regarded as a means of protecting one's subjects[344] from the inroads of his enemies.[345] The king was advised to destroy his enemies bravely in the battlefield[346] by his sword.[347] Peace was made[348] and observed for six months or a year just to recoup the losses.[349] When reduced to great extremity the king took refuge in some fort wherefrom after replenishing the treasury and arsenal he came out to fight again.[350] Help of the enemy's enemy was taken for one's own benefit.[351] Knowing that cleverness was itself a blow to one's enemy,[352] king was not to waste his energy in planning destruction of those who constantly planned the downfall of others.[353] After occupying his enemy's territory—he was to tap its resources justly without draining it dry or destroying it by fire and sword[354] because the chief aim of conquest was considered to be nothing more than the enforcement of one's commands on others.[355]

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[337] p. 319.
[338] p. 344.
[339] p. 343.
[340] p. 350.
[341] p. 344.
[342] p. 351.
[343] p. 350.
[344] p. 330.
[345] p. 328.
[346] p. 319.
[347] cf. p. 348.
[348] p. 316.
[349] pp. 332-33.
[350] p. 332.
[351] pp. 326-27.
[352] p. 321.
[353] p. 327.
[354] p. 328.
[355] p. 329.

Religious, Philosophical, Mythological & Ethical Beliefs:

Religious Beliefs:

People were advised to live a moral life[356] and to devote themselves to the worship of gods.[357] Any deviation from the path of truth was regarded as a sure road to hell.[358] One was to bear always in mind the approaching footsteps of death,[359] regard life[360] and mundane things as transient[361] and attend to the salvation of his self[362] through the recitation of the word 'Hari'.[363] It was believed that the recitation of syllable 'Om' led to increase in health and prosperity.[364] The fruits of worship and contemplation were believed to be eternal.[365] The conflicting views on religious matters had confused the people into belief: "True religion lies hid in a cave. The path of the masters is the true path of life".[366]

Philosophical Beliefs:

Concepts of Karma, Fortune and Time:

Man was regarded as a creator of his own fate,[367] i.e., the fruition of the effects of one's karma and penance of the prior lives at an appointed time.[368] Whatever came to be ordained on the strength of one's karma was sure to happen at its determined hour.[369] 'Jiva' suffers the fruits of its own sins,[370] arising out of past deeds.[371] Even the time of one's death was believed to be fixed. The effects of one's karma, it was believed, lay waiting to become patent at their fixed hour. Life, the phase of tangible existence between two unseens, was not to be mourned for.[372]

The working out of the effects of the past deeds was regarded as Fate.[373] It was asserted that under its impact harmful appeared good and the *vice versa*.[374] Another name for Fate was Time. Time was regarded as responsible for the creation and dissolution, one which neither slept nor permitted slightness of its authority and worked manifestly at some places and covertly at others. It was asserted that the wise bid their time with full regard for the cause and effect of their individual actions.[375] Time was measured by Ghatiyantra.[375a]

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[356] p. 324.
[357] p. 325.
[358] p. 324.
[359] p. 329.
[360] p. 328.
[361] p. 317.
[362] p. 329.
[363] p. 339.
[364] p. 329.
[365] pp. 323, 326.
[366] p. 323.
[367] p. 335.
[368] p. 338.
[369] p. 335.
[370] p. 345.
[371] p. 335.
[372] p. 338.
[373] pp. 334-35.
[374] p. 327.

Emancipation :

It is stated that desire and happiness cannot co-exist and the true happiness lay in the extinction of one's desires.[376] Referring to desires it is said, "A man knows no satisfaction as regards the increased duration of life and the increased number of his progeny."[377] They (desires) pursued a man even in jungle.[378] It is argued that apprehension proceeded from affection which led to misery. As love or affection was regarded as the root of all troubles, people were advised to give up affection to be happy.[379] It was believed that even a householder who controlled his senses and killed his desires was a true hermit.[380] And again, dependence or bondage leads to misery and liberty or emancipation to true happiness. At one place it is declared: "By the single utterance of two letters 'Hari' a fettered self makes a step towards emancipation".[381]

Piety :

Life without piety was regarded as futile. He who had piety was alone regarded as truly alive. Piety consisted in doing commendable things[382] without bragging. Truth and virtue were regarded as inseparable.[383] People were advised to forgive others though it was conceded that many times toleration was mistaken as weakness or incapacity.[384] It was emphasised that virtues were to be acquired little by little.[385] It was also asserted that genuine goodness was pleasing to the gods, good and the Brahmins.[386] Healthy public opinion acted as check upon evil propensities.[387]

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[375] p. 316.
[375a] p. 329.
[376] p. 328.
[377] p. 322.
[378] p. 334.
[379] p. 330.
[380] p. 334.
[381] p. 339.
[382] p. 317.
[383] p. 350.
[384] p. 345.
[385] p. 317.
[386] p. 319.
[387] p. 351.

Mythological Beliefs:

The ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu though not enumerated by name are referred to at one place. Kṛṣṇa is referred to as Murāri[388] and Keśava.[389] Referred to are sufferings of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa in the jungle and the life-long miseries of Sītā in spite of the officiation of Vaśiṣtha at the time of her marriage.[390] However, these references cannot be accepted as convincing evidence of Rāma being then included in the list of the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu. Rāvaṇa is described as the pupil of Śukrācārya and the ruler of Laṅkā. Śiva is called 'Hara' and is referred to as a beggar. The reference to Bali's imprisonment[391] for giving alms to Visnu[391a] is a clear clue about the story of Vāmana incarnation of Viṣṇu. Garuḍa,[392] the vehicle-bird of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmi,[393] the consort of Viṣṇu, Indra,[394] Brahma,[395] Bṛhaspati,[396] Śukrācārya and Surya[397] are mentioned by name only. Sons of Paṇḍu i.e., Pāṇḍavas are recommended as model of hard working people who retrieved their good fortune in the midst of insurmountable difficulties.[398] Still it was held that the malignant fate reduced them to begging in spite of their royal descent and Kṛṣṇa's support.[399]

Moral Maxims :

People were advised to repose no confidence in rivers, horned cattle, clawed birds and beasts, women, persons of royal blood, arm-bearing individuals[400] and the self-praising person.[401] One was not to give publicity to the insults he might have suffered, the deception practised on him, the heart-ache of his own and the instance of female-infidelity in his own home.[402] New wine, partaking of curd in night, dried meat, sleep during day time, bed of a lady elder to oneself,[403] snake-infested chamber,[404] residence in another's abode[405] and the house full of dangers were to be avoided.[406] Shadow of a cloud, love of the malicious, intimacy with another's wife, youth and opulence were regarded as transitory.[407] The cutting of the weeds with nails, the digging of the earth with toes, the banding and beating of legs against each other, the wearing of filthy garments and dirty clotted hair, sleeping at daybreak and nightfall, the beating against one's back and belly to keep time with music, a voracious appetite and boisterous laughter were regarded as potent enough to destroy the opulence of even god Keśava himself.[408] Walking between two rows of Brahmins, between fire and Brahmin, between a man and his wife and between two bulls or elephants was to be avoided.[409] It was believed that rogues, artisans, servants, madman, drums and women were softened and set right by beating and that they did not deserve any good treatment.[410] Friendship with the good, discussion on commendable topics with the learned and friendship of the greedless were recommended for avoiding grief.[411] "Piety is preserved by truthfulness, knowledge by cultivation, courtesy by humility and a family good name by the character of its members", "Little study, a little virtue, a little act of charity practised each day, can make the life barren at its close."[412] Like the dictum "a bird in hand is better than two in bush", it was emphasised that one was not to move one step by letting off sure foothold[413] and rejecting the certain good in quest of the uncertain and remote.[414] In other words, an old situation of trust and tested safety was not to be given up without ascertaining the nature of the new one.[415] By corollary it was held that little by little the desires were to be satisfied.[416] People were advised not to attempt at discovering the sources of the rivers, Agnihotris and the Bharata race lest they might come across some unpleasant things.[417]

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[388] p. 335.
[389] p. 334.
[390] p. 336.
[391] p. 335.
[391a] pp. 335, 353.
[392] p. 323.
[393] p. 335.
[394] p. 346.
[395] p. 344.
[396] p. 348.
[397] p. 335.
[398] p. 330.
[399] p. 334.
[400] p. 320.
[401] p. 351.
[402] p. 320.
[403] p. 341.
[404] pp. 317, 318.
[405] p. 316.
[406] p. 319.

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407. p. 348.
408. p. 342.
409. p. 343.
410. p. 321.
411. p. 316.
412. p. 334.
413. p. 318.
414. p. 324.
415. p. 318.
416. pp. 323, 325.
417. p. 351.

Motilal Nehru—an Estimate

BY

DR. LAL BAHADUR

Motilal Nehru was one of the towering sponsors of the movement for council-entry and non-co-operation from within. He had a majestic appearance and a remarkable personality and he possessed "a broad forehead, tight lips and a determined chin and, in all these, he had a remarkable resemblance to the busts of the Roman Emperors in the museum in Italy."[1] He was neither meek or mild. People either completely liked him or disliked him and an attitude of neutrality was not possible about him. In all these he was just the reverse of Gandhi whose meekness and tolerance were clearly pronounced. But he was endowed with the rare gift of seeing merit in others. He was under the spell of Gandhi. "Strong and unbending himself", said Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, "he admired strength of spirit in him. For it was clear that this little man of poor physique had something of steel in him, something rock-like which did not yield to physical powers, however great they might be."[2] The admiration was, however, mutual and Gandhi recognised three great qualities in him—grandeur, keeping up bonds of affection and open-heartedness.[3] It was most appropriately said that "it was a strange combination—the saint, the stoic, the man of religion, one who went through life rejecting what it offers in the way of sensation and physical pleasure and one who had been a bit of an epicure, who accepted life and welcomed and enjoyed many sensations and cared little for what may come in the hereafter."[4]

Motilal had early established a reputation for impartiality and an objective attitude, even in an involved matter of intri-

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1. Jawaharlal Nehru: *An Autobiography,* London, 1945: p. 130.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Punya Smirtiyan* by M. K. Gandhi. p. 116:
4. Jawaharlal Nehru: *An Autobiography;* p. 65.

cate nature. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's premature[5] and sentimental remarks[6] in the Bengal Election Dispute invited the wrath of Sri B. C. Roy[7] who requested Motilal to come for a day or send Pandit Jawaharlal evidently for the purpose of acquainting himself with the real facts. The Bengal disputants assured Motilal Nehru that they had given the most anxious consideration to his suggestion of an amicable settlement.[8] The fact was that his sense of justice was relied upon by the people of this country.

A keen intellect, Motilal's political and religious affinities did not partake of blind faith. His attitude to them always signified a pronounced question-mark?[9] "Mr. Motilal's strong point", observed Kapil Deva Malaviya, "is his common sense. He is not a man of great many idle ideas, of any excess of dreamy imagination. If anything, he is active and practical, intensely practical."[10] His forensic abilities were acknowledged, his acute intellect was admitted and his powers of organisation, his ready wit, his charming manners and his winning smile endeared him to his country.[11] His sense of humour and his cheerful company were liked by all.[12] His indomitable courage was an object of admiration and brought him to the forefront of patriots.[13] Kapil Dev Malaviya was so impressed that he could not know of any person, upon whom he could rely with such implicit confidence for the success of a design upon which he embarked, as he did upon Motilal Nehru.[14]

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[5] Bengalee, Dec. 7, 1929: He saiw 'that having regard to the present political situation it was of utmost importance that Congress elections should not be exposed to vicissitudes arising out of pure technicalities'.

[6] *Ibid:* "I recall to my mind", said he, "the famous statement of the Pandavas and Kauravas who said that they were five and they were hundred as between themselves but they were hundred and five against the enemies.

[7] MS letter, Dec. 7, 1929 by Sri B. C. Roy, 36, Wellington Street. Calcutta: File G-120 (ii), Bengal Election Dispute File 13—Miscellaneous papers—Pt. M. Nehru's Enquiry, A.I.C.C. Library—"It is unfortunate that Pattabhi comes.........Unfortunate Pattabhi has a happy knack of saying the wrong thing at the right moment and irritate persons........I really feel I will go out of it all and go back to quieter waters".

[8] Ms letter Jan. 12, 1930 written by Jotish Chandra Ghosh, Suresh Chandra Majumdar, J. C. Gupta and others: Above file.

[9] File No. 2 of Mr. Mukandilal's Newspaper cuttings, mostly from Pioneer, Leader, Hindustan Times and Indian Daily Telegraph covering the period 1922-1931.

[10] P. Motilal Nehru: *His Life and Speeches* by Kapil Dev Malaviya, Allahabad Law Journal Press, 1929; p. 11.

[11] Extracts from the Proceedings of the United Provinces Legislative Council, Feb. 11, 1931; p. 5. A.I.C.C. Library, Delhi: President's Speech.

[12] *Ibid*; p. 4: From Nawab Sir Muhammad Said Khan's speech.

He had many noble qualities but his sole passion was love for his motherland. He had given his all for the service of his country and the way in which he suffered and cheerfully bore many losses was simply praiseworthy.[15] Even where people differed from him, they felt confident that any advice given by him would be sound. Muhammad Alam, for instance, expressed his inability to convert the Nationalist Party of the Punjab Council into a Congress body. But he hoped that as times went on and things looked brighter, there might be a change of heart. "In the meantime," he wrote to Motilal Nehru, "We will do what we can, and we want your blessing. I hope and trust you will be kindly giving us your instructions in different matters, so that we might have the advantage of your private advice."[16]

A Kashmiri Pandit, he was born in May, 1861, being the posthumous son of Gangadhar Nehru, Kotwal of Delhi. He received his early education at the Government High School, Kanpur and subsequently came to the Muir College, Allahabad, to study for the law. At the Vakil's examination in 1883, he topped the list of successful candidates and then began his professional career at Kanpur which he soon left for Allahabad and there he early estalished a substantial practice.[17] But all along his life, he entertained patriotic feelings. His progressive instincts as opposed to revolutionary enthusiasm were put on their trial when Annie Besant and Bal Gangadhar Tilak started their Home Rule Campaign. In the succeeding twelve months an important change was bound to occur and Motilal Nehru found it difficult to adjust himself to the quick change of events.[18] His son threw himself amid the ranks of the Home Rulers and the father came into the Movement fairly actively after the internment of Mrs. Besant.[19]

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[13] Legislative Assembly. Monday, 9th February, 1931; p. 677: T. R. Phookan's speech: A.I.C.C. Library, New Delhi.

[14] P. Motilal Nehru: *His Life & Speeches* by Kapildev Malaviya; p. 7.

[15] Extracts from the proceedings of the United Provinces Legislative Council, Feb. 11 1931; p. 5: A.I.C.C. Library, Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan's speech.

[16] Ms letter, Jan. 27, 1927, by Sheikh Muhammad Alam, Lahore, to Motilal Nehru.

[17] File No. 2 of Mr. Mukandi Lal's Newspaper Cuttings.

The August declaration of 1917 once more changed the poise of his mind and he supplied the leaven of the older faith in Congress Councils. In spite of his attitude of moderation towards the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, Motilal did not secede from the Congress with Sir Surendranath Banerjea, Sir Dinshay Wacha and Srinivas Shastri and others. He held on to his faith as a Congressman, which he had acquired in 1907.[20]

He had, however, a firm faith in the sense of justice of the British public. He believed that the British people were the final arbiters of India's destiny. When the Minto-Morley Reforms Scheme came into operation, he became a member of the United Provinces Legislative Council. He took a prominent part in its proceedings and he asserted the claim of the British Parliament to be the sole custodian of India's fate and an apocryphal story attributed to him the statment that he declared immediate 'Home Rule, for India to be 'unthinkable'. This was a matter of honest conviction with him. He was one of the first Indians to adopt the Western mode of life and at Anand Bhavan, his beautiful house on the Church Road, Allahabad, he lavished hospitality on his many European and Indian friends, combining his modernity with Indian grace and courtliness. That his social relations were on the basis of reciprocity with Europeans is testified by the fact that it was as a guest of Sir Harcourt Butler that Motilal attended the King Emperor's Durbar at Delhi in 1911.[21] He brought up his family according to Western ideas and kept English governesses for his children. He sent his son Jawaharlal to be educated in England at Harrow and Cambridge.[22]

The Rowlatt Bills and the Punjab episode in 1919, however, brought further changes in Motilal's attitude of mind and his sense of justice was now actively roused against the British domination of India. "The accumulated anger," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "with which a series of events, culminating in the Punjab tragedy and its aftermath, filled him; the sense of utter wrong-doing and injustice, the bitterness of national humiliation, had to find some way out."[23] It is true that Motilal did not, in the beginning, accord full support to Gandhi's Satyagraha Movement of Swadeshi and fasting, which again provoked a sharp difference of opinion between him and his son, Jawaharlal Nehru,[24] but having once actively joined the "Freedom Movement" when it was at the cross-roads, poised between the well-trodden path of gradualism and the more adventurous road of Mahatma Gandhi,"[25] it was possible for him to have become a full-fledged follower of Gandhi's creed of non-violent Non-Co-operation. "Pandit Motilal Nehru had", said Dr. Rajendra Prasad, "renounced overnight a life of luxury and comfort and thrown himself into the freedom struggle,"[26] and once he was in it, he gave to the Freedom Movement 'his entire mind and soul and all the qualities of intellect and character which had raised him high among his fellow-men![27]

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[18] File No. 2 of Mr. Mukandi Lal's Newspaper cuttings.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*

The Gandhian principle of extreme simplicity so much influenced him that he gave up the use even of betel leaves[28] which most men of his day took with regularity. Entering the Non-co-operation Movement, therefore, meant much to him; it meant a revolutionary change in the whole tempo of his life, his dress, his mode of living, his profession and his old friends in the political sphere. "Non-co-operation", observed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "meant his withdrawing from his legal practice; it meant a total break with his past life and new fashioning of it—not an easy matter when one is on the eve of one's sixtieth birthday. It was a break from old political colleagues, from his profession, from the social life to which he had grown accustomed and a giving up of many an expensive habit which he had grown into."[29] But he had not entered the movement of Non-violent, Non-co-operation under the influence of a momentary impulse; he had weighed all eventualities and had thought over all the pros and cons of the matter before embarking on his course of action. It was not a plunge into the dark. He was fully conscious of all the difficulties that lay ahead of him. He had firm determination to overcome them and to put India on the road to freedom and respectability in the comity of nations. He had a selfless ambition of raising the dignity of the country.

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[23] Jawaharlal Nehru: *An Autobiography*, London, 1945 p. 65.
[24] File N. 2 of Mr. Mukandilal's Newspaper cuttings.
[25] *The Hindustan Times*, April 2, 1957: Editorial Note, p. 5.
[26] *The Hindustan Times*, March 31, 1957; Front page.
[27] *The Hindustan Times*, April 2, 1957; p. 5.
[28] *Puniya Smritiyan*, p. 121.
[29] Jawaharlal Nehru: *An Autobiography*: pp. 64 & 65.

He took a keen interest in Congress work and was particular about knowing the dates and places of the A.I.C.C. meetings. He drew the attention of the General Secretary, Indian National Congress, to the most important matters to be discussed,[30] pointed out the difficulties in realising even a fraction of the arrears due from the various provincial committees,[31] inspite of unsatisfactory finances,[32] and got busy with other Congress activities.[33] So keen was he about all these things that he even caused some excitement, not entirely free from a trace of anger, to Gokaran Nath Misra over the question of fixing the place of A.I.C.C. meeting[34] and clearly mentioned that if it was held at any place other than Allahabad, both C. R. Das and he would not be able to attend it.[35]

Besides, he believed, with C. R. Das, that there was no urgent need in 1920 for representation in England, as was made out in certain quarters.[36] He openly, declared that he had no faith in deputations. "The only thing", he wrote, "in which I have some lingering faith is the Press of England, which reaches a far larger number of people than can be addressed from any platform."[37] As an honest and straightforward man, he refused to discuss any important matter, in a close meeing before calling a meeting of the A.I.C.C.[38] All these instances go to establish that Motilal took intelligent interest in all Congress work. His services to the country won for him the deserved praise of an amateur Indian poet who wrote,

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[30] Ms letter, Nov. 14, 1920 by Motilal Nehru, Anand Bhawan, Allahabad to V. J. Patel, General Secretary, Indian National Congress, Bombay: A.I.C.C. File No. 3 of 1920—General Correspondence.

[31] Ms. letter, Octo. 23, 1920, by Motilal Nehru, Anand Bhawan, Allahabad, to V. J. Patel: Above File.

[32] Ms letter, October 16, 1920 by Jawaharlal Nehru, Joint General Secretary, Indian National Congress; Above File.

[33] Ms. letter, Dec. 6, 1920, by Motilal Nehru to V. J. Patel: Above file.

[34] Ms letter, March 17, 1920 by Motilal Nehru, Arrah, to Gokaran Nath Misra: Above File.

[35] Ms letter, March 24, 1920, by Motilal Nehru to Gokaran Nath Misra: Above file.

[36] Ms letter, March 9/10, 1920, by Motilal Nehru to Gokaran Nath Misra: Above File.

> "I pray, O God, the Lord of all
> To bless our Pandit Moti-Lal
> May he enjoy always good health
> And God give him a hoard of Wealth."

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[37] Ms letter, March 12, 1920, by Motilal Nehru to Gokaran Nath Misra; Above File.

[38] Ms Note, Feb. 25, 1920 on Gokaran Nath Misra's letter Feb. 1, 1920 to Motilal Nehru: Above File.

[39] Ms Poem, Nov. 19 1923, by Hannu Lal Dube, A.I.C.C. File No. 2 of 1923—Swaraj Party.

Thoughts on Indian Feudalism

BY

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Mankind had passed through distinct stages in the development of the means of production. In the infancy of civilization, every people must have passed through the nomadic, pastoral and agricultural epochs. Clans and tribes knit together by blood relationship, who lived by hunting and fishing, had common property in hunting grounds and places of habitation, which were temporary, and they moved with flocks and herds, compelled by hostile tribes and scarcity of fodder and food. The growth of population, and the formation of the large family of kith and kin, emerging out of promiscuous relations of primitive men and women necessitated settling down on fixed habitations called villages. The advance from food-gathering to plough-using agrarian economy was a progressive step which caused the formation of families. The German Mark, the Russian Mir, and the South Indian Ur had one common characteristic in ancient times, namely, the institution of common property in land of a number of closely related families who tilled the land in common and divided the yield more or less equally among the inhabitants of the settlement.

The memories of communal property have been constantly referred to by Hindu law-givers and commentators like Manu, Yajnavalkya, Apastamba, Gautama, Sayana, Savara and Jaimini. All of them have expressed the view that the king was entitled to a share of the produce of the land in return for protection of life, liberty and property of the people. The king was never empowered to sell the peasants' land for default in payment of revenue; distraint and sale laws were alien to the Hindu Code on property. (Land Tenures in Madras Presidency — Sundarararaja Iyangar — P. 11-12). That the soil was originally owned by groups and not by individuals and that individual appropriation came into vogue at a very late period have been proved by researches made by

Vinogradoff in Europe (The growth of the Manor) and Sir Henry Maine (Village Communities in East and West). The ancient village community in India was a patriarchal society consisting of co-proprietors of land. It was a brotherhood of peasants who acknowledged the tie of common ancestry and maintained common management of arable and pasture lands through many generations. There was no doubt the tacitly understood fact that each member of the brotherhood held in separate possession the land on which his family expended labour power and enjoyed the fruits of labour as long as he contributed his share of revenue towards the common pool.

It was inevitable that the brotherhood split up into joint families, lived together for generations until they became unwieldy under a single roof. Each family inherited ancestral property without thinking of dividing it, due to time-honoured custom and economic advantages of collective labour. Sir Henry Maine says, "As a fact, however, a division rarely takes place even at the death of the father and the property constantly remains undivided for several generations, though every member of every generation has a legal right to an undivided share in it". (Ancient Law). It can also be surmised that the original village community was founded by a single assemblage of blood relations. In spite of the admission of strangers into the community, and division of labour arising out of differentiation of occupational groups, which crystallised and hardened into castes, the tradition of an original common parentage is still preserved in the memory of the community. Mount Stuart Elphinstone who studied South Indian Communities in particular had expressed the view that in a large number of villages, there were only single families of landholders who branched out into more members and their rights over lands were collectively held, and no land holder could sell or mortgage his rights without the previous consent of the village, and the share of an extinct family returned to the common stock (History of India I. P. 126).

Thus the prevalence of co-ownership marked most of the village communities in ancient India. These proprietory brotherhoods had grown and expanded in North and South India more or less on a similar pattern. And it has been said that the Russian village was also organized just like the Indian brotherhood but with one difference. In spite of the co-proprietorship of the village land, the separate rights of individuals continued indefinitely in India; but in a Russian village, after a given period, separate ownership was extinguished and the land of the village was thrown together and redistributed among the families composing the community. The tradition of such redistribution and interchangeability of land-holdings has survived in many parts of Andhra till the beginning of the nineteenth century in the form of visapadi or visabuddy; it has been handed down in the form of Mirasi tenure in Tamilnad. Sir Thomas Munro has described visapadi as follows: "The land and rents were divided into sixteen shares. When the season of cultivation draws near, all the ryots of visapadi villages assemble to regulate their several rents for the year .... They ascertain the amount of agricultural stock of each individual, and the whole body and the quantity of land to which it is adequate and they divide it accordingly, giving each man a portion which he has the means of cultivating and fixing his share of rent and whether his share be one or two sixteenths, he pays this proportion whether the whole rent of the village be higher or lower than that of last year". (The Gazetteer of Cuddapah, P. 146-7).

The orignal organization of production was through the frame work of the caste system which was the Indian prototype of the class structure. The penalties and privileges prescribed in Manusmriti clearly reveal the status of the privileged classes and the producing classes. The ruling castes—Kshatriyas and Brahmins —had rights over men and things while the producing classes— Dasas, Sudras, Chandalas, Pariahs, etc.—had duties and no rights. The caste system which was the basis of production, consumption, exchange, and distribution in ancient Indian society, certainly developed the productive powers of society at one stage and by the combination of agriculture and industry in their primitive simplicity the village community supplied the surplus necessary for the state apparatus, and the maintenance of public works as also the patronage of art and architecture. The priest and the patriarch, the Kshatriya and the Brahmin who lived on the surplus labour of the rural artisans and peasants, represented the ruling classes. This socio-religious superstructure of caste ideology was the breeding ground of Indian feudalism. Every ruling class had its own methods of creating an institution of servile labour for exploitation. Long before the out-castes had been reduced to serfdom there was some type of slavery in ancient India. Dr. Winternitz says that though

Megasthenes emphatically states that there was no slavery in India, "both the Arthasastra and Dharma sastras know different kinds of male and female slaves". The law givers, like Apastamba, Gautama, Narada, Manu, Yajnavalkya, Brihaspati have recognized the existence of this institution and laid down regulations accordingly. We have many references to slavery in the Jatakas, and Arthasastra. Radhakumud Mukharjee has noted in his "Hindu Civilization" the following types of slaves:

A captive in war (dhvajahrita), a slave for food (bhaktadasa), a herditary slave (grihaja), a slave acquired by purchase (krita) or by gift (detrima) or by inheritance (paitrika) and a slave under debt (danda dasa) "Every slave, penal included, was allowed to work out his ransom .... The sudra helot had come into his own, under state control, to make large scale chattel slavery unnecessary for food production". (Kosambi. An Introduction to the study of Indian History, p. 220).

A Theory of Indian Feudalism

In the course of the development of Indian Feudalism the tribal chieftain gained predominance over hundreds of villages partly by virtue of military prowess or seniority in the patriarchal society. By virtue of this ascendancy he acquired the right to levy a contribution from the wealth the villagers produced. Whether it was blackmail or tribute he expropriated the village commune of a goodly portion of its produce and used it to perpetuate his ascendancy and to wage wars. When larger areas came under his control he delegated his power to lesser chieftains or farmed out the revenue to contractors. Instead of paying them monetary allowances for their services—which was not feasible in a predominantly agricultural economy—he simply distributed the authority to collect revenue and retained a portion of it as his remuneration. The vanquished chieftains were allowed to pay tribute which was a percentage of revenue collected by him. Thus these intermediaries, who owed fiscal and military obligations became the overlords of areas or parts of the kingdom. The authority of these intermediaries was derivative and dependent on the fulfilment of certain prescribed conditions. So long as they conformed to the terms of the Commission and transmitted the stipulated portion of the proceeds, they enjoyed their suzerainty over the village communities. If the intermediary lord found himself oppressed or humiliated he raised the banner of revolt and carved out a kingdom of his own. This process was in operation over a smaller or larger area down to the times of the disintegration of the Mughal empire.

In the pre-feudal period the village commune was an autonomous unit in which the upper castes, consisting of property holders and priests, enjoyed self-government on a communal basis and organized production and municipal services by the division of labour between various occupational groups. The village community had to admit in course of time new-comers who were brought in either as labourers or for other essential services. The influx of strangers might have added to the differentiation of classes because the older inhabitants enjoyed privileges while the new comers had to accept duties as the only means of livelihood. The allocation of distinct functions to various groups led to the hardening of the privileged castes and their rigid preservation from encroachment by lower classes. These functions have been given legal sanction of a quasi-religious nature in Manusmriti and other juridical codes of Hinduism.

Broadly speaking there were three coordinate and simultaneous claims on the land:

1. the customary claims of the peasants in the village.
2. the delegated or derivative claims of the intermediary.

   and

3. the superior claims of the Sovereign.

This classification involves three types of conflicts:

1. as between overlord and intermediaries.
2. between the intermediary and the village.

   and

3. among the peasants themselves.

K. S. Shelvankar: "The problem of India, pp. 77-80.

In England the King was both landlord and sovereign; and the barons both landlords and a combined legislative, executive and judicial authority on the feudal estate. There was no clear-cut distinction between taxes and rents. The position was gradually altered between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries since Magnacarta; there broke out a series of revolts which compelled the king to recognize the rights of the tenants as proprietors. The barons collectively fixed their cash payments to the king and transformed the arbitrary rule of the sovereign into a system of common law, hammered out in the baronial struggles. The king ceased to be the landlord and became only sovereign who ruled with the consent of the barons. The rent charges were fixed as definite taxes payable according to a contract. These collective, economic struggles of the barons gave rise to constitutional rights which through the centuries evolved into the fabric of the constitution.

The European manor was an organization which regulated the rights of the village, the rights of the separate peasant holders and the rights of the lord. The peasants were bound to the lord through the obligation of personal service to the lord. The lord was the suzerain of the estate and took a personal interest in the agricultural process and regulated its operations constantly to his advantage. The rights of the lords always came into conflict with the rights of the peasants. As a result of struggles like the peasants' revolt and the development of the money economy, personal services were commuted into money rents and the serf became a tenant. The enclosure movement in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was another factor which transformed medieval agriculture; and the rights and obligations of peasants underwent another transformation. The open field system was superseded and the modern rural hierarchy of land owners, tenants and agricultural labourers came into being.

Indian feudalism was based on a different conception of sovereign authority. The European monarch passed on to his barons both power over persons as well as land, in return for allegiance and military services. The Roman conception of dominium was alien to India. The king here never created subordinate barons with proprietory rights over land, for, in theory the king was not a supreme owner of land. He was the lord of the earth, not a proprietor of the soil. What he delegated was the revenue-collecting power. And even that power was not hereditary for the intermediary could be removed at his sweet will and pleasure. The king was not primus inter pares, and the baron was not a partner in sovereign authority. There could therefore be no baronial struggle and the barons never combined to fight for their collective rights. The Indian baron could take up arms and repudiate loyalty to the king and if he was powerful enough he could assume the insignia of royalty. Thus the conflict of interests, when it arose, between king and, intermediary lords did not produce constitutional and political developments. The Indian lords could never resist the sovereign as a coherent body, for their position had no legal sanction nor basis in contemporary and customary jurisprudence. They were of different grades, had no standing armies, rarely met together to discuss the affairs of the state and had not sworn common allegiance to a single overlord.

The European manor consisted of both peasant land as well as the lords' domain, intermingled and the lord constantly depended upon the peasants and serfs for various services. Indian feudalism on the other hand was merely fiscal and military. The peasant was not the direct serf of the lord and was not bound to offer all kinds of services at his beck and call. He was a member of the village community which enjoyed autonomy and regulated the rights and obligations of its members without outside interference, and under the guidance of village elders. When the lord or revenue-farmer was oppresive in his demands, the peasants non-cooperated and even left the village to settle down in a distant part of the country as land was abundant and their freedom of movement was not restricted by customary law. Normally the lord demanded one-sixth of the gross produce of the land, and in times of war, the sovereign directed him to collect more, regardless of the interests of the peasnts. The revenue-farmers had their own land which was cultivated by hired labour and. slaves, for the overlord had to be sure of an uninterrupted supply of food grains in times of famine, drought or other calamities. And when the sovereign required land for his own purposes he bought it from the villagers. "That the ownership of the soil was not in the sovereign is proved by a variety of arguments. One of these is remarkable, being drawn from the fact, that the emperors purchased land when they wanted it. Aurangzib purchased the purganahs of Lundi, Palem, etc. in the vicinity of Delhi. Akbar purchased land for the forts of Akbarabad and Illahabad, Shahjahan for the fort of Shajahanabad, and Alamgir for the fort of Aurangabad and for mosques. When the Jagirdars got possession they paid milkhana to the Zamindars. There is a native saying that 'the land belongs to the Zamindar and the revenue to the king and according to Mohammaden law the sovereign has a right of property in the tribute or revenue; but he, who has tribute from the land, has no property in the land" (Field: landholding, p. 741).

Individual family claims and obligations were determined on customary lines and the collective or cooperative village, had to part with a big fraction of the final produce of the soil to the overlords or revenue farmers who exercised their power by virtue of their military force. Though this super imposition of a military hierarchy over groups of villages was common to both European and Indian feudalism, India did not witness those economic and political conflicts: (1) between baron and king and (2) baron and peasantry. (Shelvankar, ibid.).

Most of the conflicts in Indian history had for their objects the exercise of rights *over* the village, not the exercise of rights *within* the village. Unlike European lords who enforced their decrees in regard to large-scale farming, enclosures, etc., and thus expropriated the peasants the chief interest of the Indian lord was for a larger share of the products of the soil. The issue was always between armed overlords and not between lords and peasants.

Until the introduction of the ryotwari system by the East India Company in the nineteenth century, land was not a commodity with saleable value, for, private property in land was rarely valued and accumulated by the peasants due to very high assessment. Land could become saleable only if it yielded a surplus or rent to the proprietor after meeting the cost of cultivation. The assessment in India was always so high as to absorb landlords' rent and most of the peasants lived on a bare subsistence level of cultivation. "In the northern portion of the presidency comprising the Telugu districts, there is no reason to suppose that the conditions were originally different from those that existed in other parts of the presidency. These northern districts were the first to be occupied by the Muhammadans and formed the seat of their government and on account of the high taxation levied by them, the lands lost their saleable value; and the continuance of that state for centuries effaced all traces of disposition of lands from the memory of men. Therefore at the time when those districts came first under the power of the English, no traces of sale or other disposition of lands could be found. (Mirasi papers, p. 338).

The East India Company started by becoming a revenue farmer in the eighteenth century, in Bengal and Andhra. And this power was subsequently expanded into full sovereignty by force of arms. The company transformed the revenue farmers or Zamindars into hereditary land lords; in accordance with English laws and usages the Company conferred proprietary rights over revenue farmers and former intermediaries. The next step was to introduce village settlements and individual assessment of revenue. Individual pattas conferring proprietory rights were granted to the ryots and land thus became a marketable commodity. The village community which was a cooperative union of peasants was broken up and the functions of the village Panchayat or Sabha of Elders were usurped by the British. Even the services of village functionaries came to be paid in monetary allowances instead of mirasi or manyam. Status was superseded by contract. What was once held rigid by custom was dissolved by money. And the village community broken up and disorganized, was thrown headlong into the melting pot of money economy and became a pitiful victim of the depredations of English merchants and their Indian hirelings.

The Kanishka Era

BY

D. C. SIRCAR,
Ootacamund

The beginning of the reign of the Kushāṇa king Kanishka I, whose regnal reckoning was continued by his successors and thus developed into an era, has been assigned by different scholars variously to the first century B.C. and the first, second and third centuries A.D. Amongst these theories, those ascribing Kanishka's rule to the first century B.C. and the third century A.D. have few supporters.

According to J. F. Fleet, Kanishka was a predecessor of Kadphises I and Kadphises II and was the founder of the era of 58 B.C. which ultimately came to be known as the Vikrama Saṁvat. There is really no proof in support of this view. On the other hand, whatever evidence we have on the subject seems to go against it. We had occasion to summarise this evidence in the *Age of Imperial Unity* (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan's *History and Cutture of the Indian People,* Vol. II), p. 144, note 2.

R. C. Majumdar believes that Kanishka I ascended the throne in 248 A.D. and was the founder of the era starting from that year and used by the Traikūṭaka and other dynasties. The overwhelming evidence against this view was also summarised by us in the work cited above (p. 145, note 1). To that discussion may now be added the evidence of the epigraphs of the kings of Kauśambī (Allahabad District, Uttar Pradesh) and the recently discovered Kailvan (Patna District, Bihar) inscription as well as of the Śaka inscriptions in East Malwa.

The dates of the inscriptions of the Kauśāmbī kings range between the years 51 and 139 of an unspecified era.[1] As we have shown elsewhere, the most plausible view is that this era is identical with the Kanishka era which we identify with the Śaka era of 78 A.D.[2] Although Majumdar does not identify the Kanishka and Śaka eras, he has also suggested the identificaton of the era used by the kings of Kauṣāmbī with the Śaka era of 78 A.D.[3]

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[1] See *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXIV, p. 146 and note 2; *The Age of Imperial Unity,* pp. 175-76.

We have seen that the earliest and latest dates in the records of the Kauśāmbī kings are the years 51 and 139 which correspond respectively to 129 and 217 A.D. both according to Majumdar and ourselves. There is again no doubt that the year 108, which is the date of the Kailvan inscription,[4] should be assigned to the same era of 78 A.D. and regarded as corresponding to 186 A.D.

Majumdar's theory would lead us to believe that the Śaka era of 78 A.D. spread over Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar long before Kanishka extended his influence over those regions. But this does not appear to be possible at all since it goes against the known facts of Indian history. Indeed we know from epigraphic evidence that, in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Kushāṇa king Kanishka I was the only imperial ruler of foreign origin who succeeded in expanding his power over Eastern Uttar Pradesh and that Bihar lying to its immediate neighbourhood may have also come under his political influence. In the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to offer any satisfactory solution of the spread of the era of 78 A.D. to the said areas unless it is believed that the Kanishka era is identical with the Śaka era of 78 A.D. and that its use spread over Uttar Pradesh and Bihar with the expansion of Kushāṇa power and influence in the areas in question during the rule of Kanishka I. Kushāṇa inscriptions of the reign of Kanishka I, dated in the Kanishka era, are the earliest records dated in an era so far found in the eastern regions of Uttar Pradesh.

Most European scholars now believe that Kanishka I began to reign, i.e. the Kanishka era started, sometime about the second quarter of the second century A.D. We had occasion to summarise the arguments in favour of this view and those against it in the *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 145-46. Since there is little doubt that it is the Kanishka era that has been used in the Kailvan inscription, this theory also appears to be wrong.

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[2] *Select Inscriptions*, 1942, p. 365 and note 1.

[3] *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, 1946, p. 41, note 2.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 229 ff.

We admit that palaeographical evidence does not help us in assigning the date of an epigraph to a very limited period because the standard and cursive varieties of the same alphabet were generally prevalent in the same age and area while some old-fashioned people sometimes preferred to write in a somewhat older alphabet not in popular use in their days. That is why sometimes both the earlier and later forms of letters appear in the records of the same person. But, even accepting this nature of paleographical evidence, it is difficult to assign the Kailvan inscription to any date later than the second century A.D. since some of its characters exhibit forms earlier than the epigraphs of the time of Śoḍāsa who flourished considerably earlier than Kanishka I and has not been assigned by any scholar to a date later than the first century A.D. As for instance, the letter *p* generally does not show the developed angular form as found in the epigraphs of the time of Śoḍāsa and Kanishka I. Since the date of this record is the year 108, the commencement of the Kanishka era to which it apparently belongs should better be assigned to the first century A.D. This makes it very probable that Kanishka began to rule in 78 A.D. and that his era is identical with the Śaka era.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that an inscription[5] dated in the year 28 falling in the reign of Vāsishka, successor of Kanishka I, was found at Sanchi near Vidiśā, the capital of the Ākara (East Malwa) country. This shows that Ākara formed a part of the Kushāṇa empire during the rule of Kanishka and his immediate successor. But Śaka Rudradāman's Junagarh inscription (150 A.D.) [6] mentions Ākara as a part of the Śaka dominions. Śaka Śrīdharavarman's inscriptions[7] dated in his thirteenth and twentyseventh regnal years and found respectively at Sanchi and Eran, both in the ancient Ākara country, which have to be assigned to a date about the end of the third century A.D. suggest that the Śakas continued their hold on East Malwa from the middle of the second century to the beginning of the fourth while the

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[5] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 144-45.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 172, text line 11.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 180-81; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 605ff. The use of the Kalachuri era is not expected in a Śaka inscription and in a record of the Sanchi area in the age in question. Useless speculation is often resorted to in identifying the eras used in inscriptions without considering the problem of the origin of an era and that of its spread outside the place of its early use.

Allahabad and Eran inscriptions[8] of Samudragupta and the Udayagiri inscriptions[9] of Chandragupta II possibly indicate Śaka hold in that area till the Gupta conquest. If the Kanishka era started about the second quarter of the second century A.D. or in 248 A.D., year 28 of Vāsishka's Sanchi inscription would fall in the reign of Rudradāman or one of his immediate successors or would correspond to 276 A.D. Neither of these appears to be reconcilable with the Śaka occupation of East Malwa during the period in question. While Rudradāman's epithet *svayam=adhigata-Mahākshatrapanāmā* suggests that from his time the Satrapal Śaka house of Western India began to rule almost independently, it is really impossible to place the epigraphs of Kanishka I and his successors a century after those of Rudradāman and his successors.

Recently some support to the identification of the Kanishka and Śaka eras has been found in the results of the explorations conducted by Russian archaeologists in Central Asia. The Chorasmian archives from Toprak-kula contain documents bearing dates ranging between the years 207 and 231 of an unknown era which seems to be no other than the Kanishka era. Archaeoogical data suggest that the local palace and the archieves were abandoned at the end of the third century A.D. or the beginning of the fourth. The capital of Chorasmia was transferred from Toprak-kula to the city of Kyat on the river Amu Darya in the reign of king Afrig who came to power in 305 A.D. according to Al-Bīrūnī. This suggests that the era used in the Chorasmian documents started in the last quarter of the first century A.D. and is apparently identical with the Śaka era of 78 A.D. The years 207 and 231 would thus correspond to 285 and 309 A.D.[10]

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[8] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 254 ff.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 271-72.

[10] See S. P. Tolstov in *Modern Review* December 1959, p. 452.

A Unique Painting in Tulja Caves at Padali (Junnar)

BY

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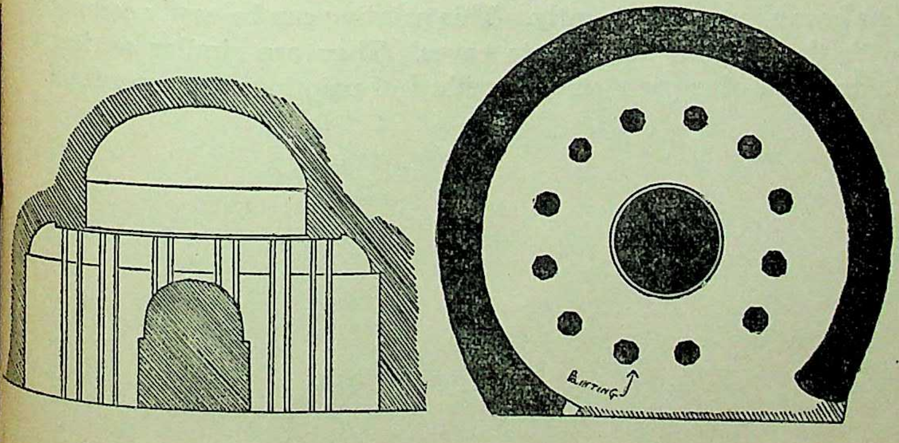
Junnar (ancient Jūnā-nagar) town is an important northernmost taluqa in the district of Poona. It is about 48 miles from the district headquarters. There are five groups of Buddhist caves in various directions of the town viz. (1) Shivaneri hill fort, (2) the Tuljā Leṇa group, (3) the Gaṇeśa Lena in the Sulaiman hills, (4) another group about a mile from the Gaṇeśa Lena and (5) the caves in Manmodi Hill. These caves have not been much publicised, as other caves at other places are. Most of these caves have traces of painting. The acme of painting at Junnar may be seen in Tuljā caves group at Pādali.

The Tuljā group lies in a hill about 1½ or 2 miles north-west from Junnar town, beyond the north end of Shivaneri hill. This group is so-called because there is a shrine of Tuljā Devi, a form of Bhawani. There are about 14 caves consisting of a number of

TULJA LENI



Section Cave No. 3 Plan

cells and two small vihāras with a chaitya cave of a form which is quite unique. These caves were hewn out between 1st Cen. B.C. to 1st Century A.D.

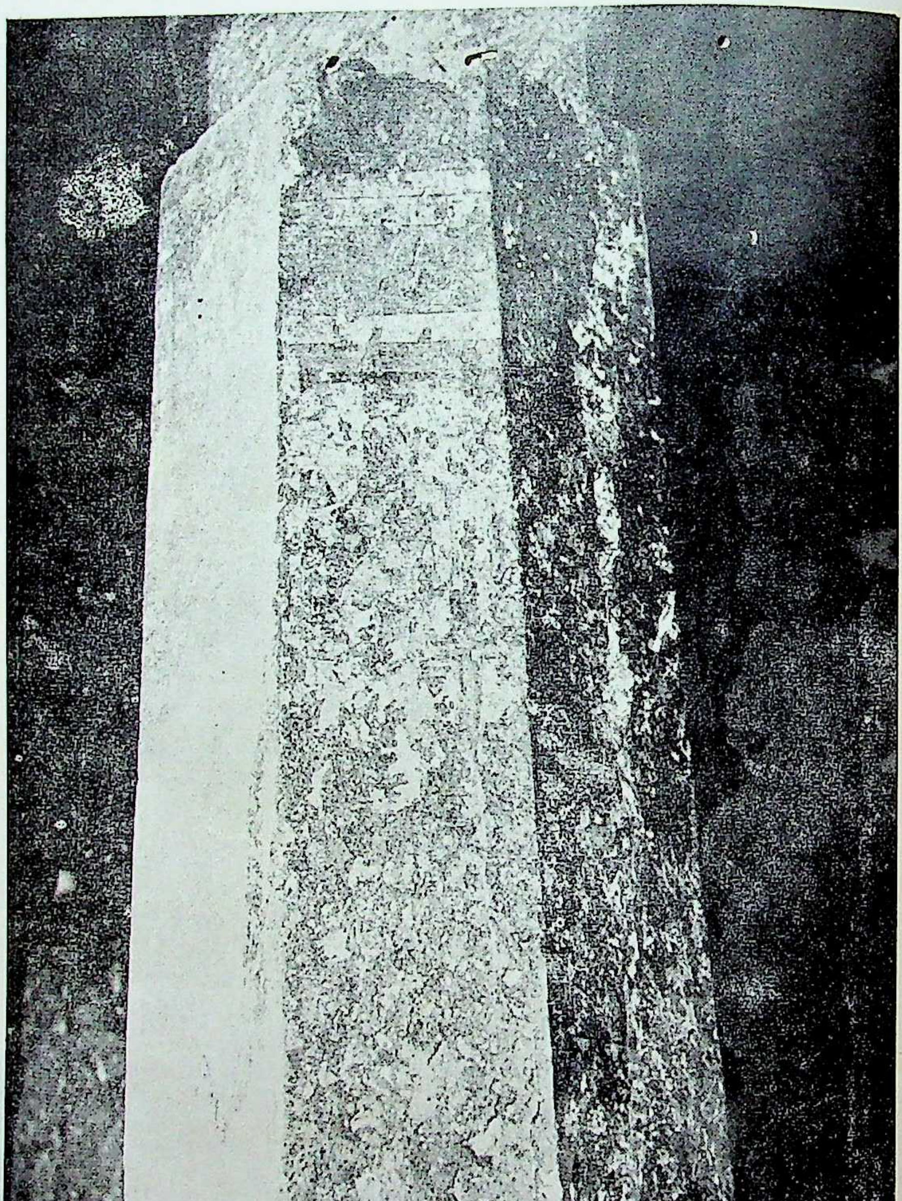
The Chaitya cave (*see plan*) is circular in plan, 25′ 6″ across with a stupa in the centre. The stupa is 8′ 2″ in diameter and is surrounded by twelve plain octagonal shafts 11′ 3″ in height supporting a dome over the stupa. The surrounding aisle is roofed by a half arch rising from the wall to the upper side of an architrave 7 or 8 inches deep over the pillars. The stupa is simple and plain but its capital has been demolished and the dome is cut irregularly and into small pieces, while some of the pillars have been notched and others broken. On the top portion of two pillars there are deep circular under-cuts.

On the left hand side pillar on the front there are traces of paintings depicting a standing female figure (*see photo*). This figure stands in a lively *tri-bhanga* pose and has a dignified expression of transcendental calm and bliss. The figure is not attired in gems and garments but still it is full of winsome grace and charm. In the figure there is neither undue striving nor anatomical exactitude, the painting is spontaneous and unrestrained. The face is thoroughly imbued with depth and tenderness. The eye-brows are drawn in one simple wave-line. Eyes are half-closed. She wears a necklace of pearls of four strands. Her breasts are prominent. Her right hand is half bent whereas her left hand is hanging down. She has a thin waist and broad hip. Her legs are crossed. The lower portion of the legs is damaged. The outline of the figure has been shown prominently. This painting can be easily compared with the paintings at Ajanta caves. They are similar as far as their mode of expression and method of paintings are concerned.

PLATE I

Junnar (Poona): Tuljā Leṇa group, showing the details of the painting on the pillar of Chaitya Cave, No. 3.

PLATE II



Junnar (Poona): Tuljā Leṇa group, showing the painting on the pillar in Chaitya Cave No. 3.

A Newly Discovered Kushana Relief from Rajasthan

BY

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During my exploratory tour in the region of Bharatpur in the month of February 1959, I discovered a rare Kushāṇa relief at Noh[1], distant about 4 miles from Bharatpur. Carved out of the typical white-spotted red sand stone, measuring 9 inches in width and 8 inches in height, this rectangular relief is in a state of perfect preservation. The same was immediately presented by me to the Deptt. of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Rajasthan, Jaipur for proper display in Bharatpur Museum.

The relief[2] under reference (*plates* I-II) presents four figures of male persons standing in the *sampāda sthānaka* pose (in a single row) side by side; each holding a water pot in the left hand and the right hand having been raised up in the *abhaya* pose. All of them wear typical Kushāṇa crown on the head and '*V*' shaped necklace in an identical manner. All these details have also been presented in a contemporary and identical red sand-stone relief (no. T 1639) from the neighbouring region of Mathura and now on display in the Asutosh Museum of Art, University of Calcutta[3] (Pl. III) as a relief depicting probably four *Bodhisattva Mait-*

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[1] A colossal early *yaksha* statue under worship here at Noh has already been described and illustrated by Dr. V. S. Agrawala in the *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, old series, VI (2), 1933, pp. 87-89 and plates I to III.

[2] cf. *Indian Archaeology—A Review* 1958-59, New Delhi, 1959, Deptt. of Archaeology in India, p. 73, pl. 76 A; A.I.R. Jaipur, illustrated talk by the author on 24-7-59.

[3] Information and photo-print so kindly supplied by Mrs. Debala Mitra and Prof. D. P. Ghosh respectively. I am really very much indebted to them for the same.

reya[4] (?).. Some scholars may even like to identify the figures with *dikpālas* or the *lokapālas*

It is too early to hazard any view with definiteness though according to the *Sādhanamālā* (p. 49 cited by B. Bhattacharya in the *Indian Buddhist Iconography,* 1958, Calcutta, Revised edition, p. 85), "*Kshitigarbha* shows in his two hands the *jar* and *abhaya mudrā*":—*Kshitigarbhaḥ kalaśaṃ chābhayaṃ tathā.*

Both these contemporary and identical reliefs, from Noh and Mathura, almost belong to the same region and are unique in the realm of the contemporary Indian Art, the Noh relief of course being in a state of better preservation and presenting details more vividly. The existence of the crown on all the heads of the standing figures here help us in rejecting, any identification with 'planet' figures and it appears that they probably represent *Bodhisattva Maitreya* figures wearing oranaments and the *muktas* in the typical Kushāṇa style. Let us hope that scholars of Indian Iconography will try to throw more light on the proper identifications of both the reliefs under study.

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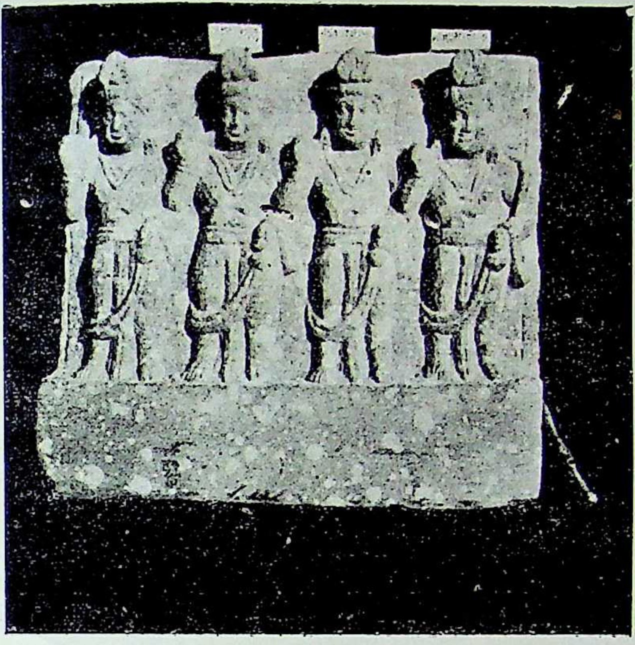
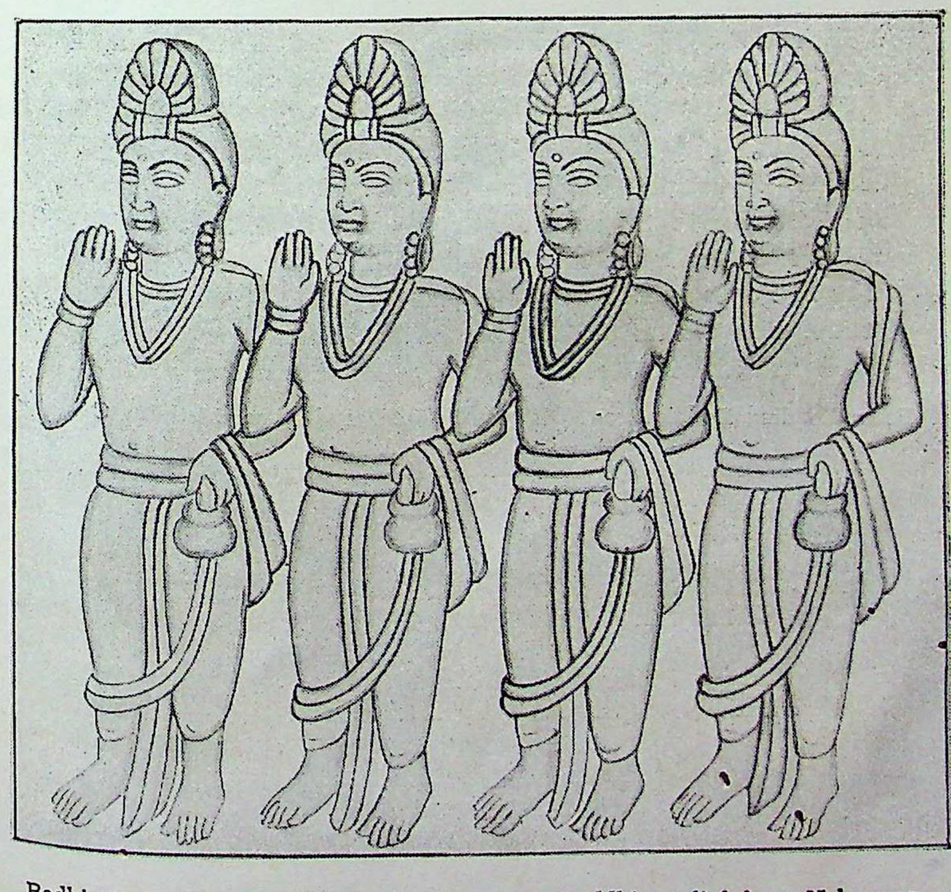
[4] Shri K. D. Bajpai, vide his letter dated 28-3-59, also suggests this identification.

PLATE I



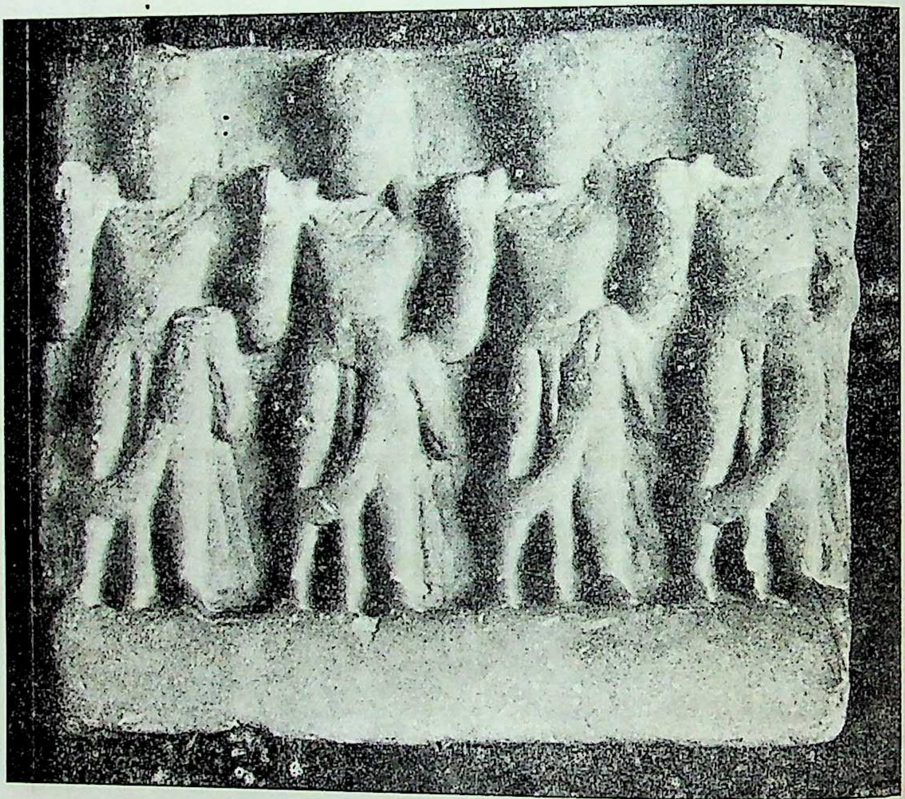
Bodhisattva Maitreya (?) Kushāṇa relief from Noh, Bharatpur (Rajasthan)

PLATE II



Bodhisattva (Maitreya (?) figures in a row. Buddhist relief from Noh, near Bharatpur; Kushāṇa Period; White spotted red sand-stone [Discovered by R. C. Agrawala] — Line sketch from the side,

PLATE III



Four Standing Bodhisattvas (Maitreya?) Red sand-stone, Mathura C. 1st century A.D.

[*Ashutosh Museum of Indian Art,* University of Calcutta]

Some Historical Aspects of Feudalism in Ancient India

(DOWN TO THE 14TH CENTURY A.D.)

(Based mainly on the epigraphic sources)

BY

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(Continued from Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXXVII,
Part III, No. 111, *December* 1959, *p.* 406)

VI

Forgery of landgrants was not unknown in ancient India. They were sometimes forged by unauthorised persons to secure legal claim to some portions of land. Since these land grants gave legal titles to the donee, mischievous people felt attracted to forge these *sāsanas.* As early as the Gupta period, we have two spurious plates of the time of Samudragupta.[114] The object of the *Madhuban C.P.* of Harṣa is to transfer the village to two learned Brāhmaṇas. The village had been formerly enjoyed on the strength of a forged *Sāsanas* from whom it is now taken after destroying the old plate. It shows that the rules of the *Smritis* which settle the punishment for forgers of royal edicts were not unnecessary.[115] The directions of the *Smritis* have been faithfully followed by imperial or feudal dynasties. *Dānapatras* were issued in large numbers by the *Gahaḍawālas* specially Govindachandra who issued nearly fifty copper-plate grants and the system was in vogue till a comparatively later period. The Pālas, Pratihāras, the Senas, the Chālukyas and others issued land grants in large numbers. The *Siyadoni stone inscription*[116] is important in the sense that it gives a list of various coins, then having legal tender. Various revenue terms are known to us from the Gahaḍawāla records.[117]

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[114] *CIB.*, pp. 6-8.
[115] *EI.*, I. 67 ff.
[116] *Ibid.*, 162 ff.
[117] *EI.*, IV, 97 ff.

J. 25

The Kalachuri inscriptions give us an insight into the actual working of the feudal system in ancient India. In the Kalachuri records, the gifts were made in favour of temples, monasteries and individuals. What was transferred was evidently the royal prerogative of demanding the land revenue and other dues in cash or kind. The donee plainly could not dispossess the individuals residing in the village of their homesteads and cultivated fields. According to Mirashi, the *Bhumichchidra* signifies full proprietory rights; *i.e.*, complete freedom from payment of revenue and other dues to the reigning prince. It did not carry with it the right to oust tenants.[118] Those fields which the cultivators owned absolutely were known as *'kauṭumbika-kṣetra'*.[119] Two such fields are mentioned in a grant for the demarcation of boundaries of the donated piece of land.[120] Such fields were particularly held by families from generations to generations.

The *Kaira plates* of Dadda II (Kalachuri era 380) inform us that the king had the further privilege of *Ditya* and *Viṣṭi*.[121] Ditya according to Mirashi, probably signified the obligation of the villagers to make customary presents on the birth of a prince or the marriage of a princess and the *Viṣṭi* signified the rendering of occasional services free of charge.[122] *Viṣṭi* in the sense of forced labour has been used in the *Junāgaḍh rock inscr.* of Rudradāman.[123] Forced Labour is mentioned in the *Chamak C.P.* and *Siwani CP* of Pravarasena II,[124] *Raipur plates* of Sudevarāja, *Pali-*

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[118] *CII.*, IV, Cl. XXI.

[119] *Ibid.*

[120] *Ibid.*, *Anjaneri plates of Jagabhaṭṭa*—(Kalachuri era 460). Lines 20-24.

[121] *Ibid.*, cf. *Inscription No.* 16,, p. 57 ff.—line 34.

[122] In some portions of landlord ridden Bihar, such systems were in vogue till recently. The *Barāhilas*, the *Ẓetharaiytas* and other prominent *Raiyatas* of the village zemindars were invited on such occasions and they were under obligation to pay according to their means befitting the occasion. These were the feudal dues. *Begāri* was an additional source of income to the Zemindars. Cf. my paper—"*Some Aspects of Land Systems*".

[123] *EI.*, VIII, 36—Cf. *Gaya CP* of Samudra Gupta, *Khoh pate* of Jayapātha, *Pārdi Pillar Inscription* of Dharasenes (*EI—X* 51); *Surat plates* of Vyāghrasena. (*EI*—XI 219) and *Riddhanpur plate* of Prabhāvati Gupta (*JASB—NS*—XX. 53).

[124] *CII.*, III, 235, 243.

tana plates of Dharasena II,[125] *Navalakhi plates* of Silāditya,[126] *Vallabhi grant* of Dhrubasena III,[127] *Gaṇeśagadh plate* of Dhrubasena I.[128] In certain respects, the peasants were completely subservient to the donee. Since there was no hard and fast rule, the recipients could exact any amount of extra *or* forced labour from the peasants, though, according to the condition of the grant, they could claim only customary taxes. "*Sotapadyamāna Viṣṭika*" has been translated by Mirashi as "with the right to forced labour arising therefrom". "*Viṣṭi*" signified forced labour and donees were assigned the right to this privilege. Though the different kinds of *Viṣṭi* are not significantly mentioned in the Gupta records, they seem to have been the same as described by Vātsāyana.[129] According to Vātsāyana, the peasant women were forced to do unpaid works of various kinds. Forced labour was oppressive. There were other miscellaneous royal privileges designated *Prātibhedikā.* The villages were to provide for the lodging and boarding of royal officers on tour. Some villages were exempted from these taxes.[130] Sometimes a small cess was levied for the purpose of entertaining the royal officers and troops. Cases of benefice were not totally unknown. The *Chamak CP* of Pravarasena II implies a case of partial benefice. It holds back some of the advantages accruing from the donated villages. Similar cases of benefice can be gleaned through one of the inscriptions of the Reddis.[131] In a record of 1212 A.D., the son of a king's priest surrendered the entire annual income to one Dhareka who had risen to the rank of Rāṇaka from a lower feudal landlord family. The rights, here, were transferred from a priest to a feudal lord. The reason for the transfer is striking. It is a default on a mortgage.[132]

The above materials, culled from inscriptions of north and south India, reveal to us that at the apex of the whole system was the king in his respective area and he was considered to be the supreme lord. The feudal heirarchical order can be gleaned through these records; and to cite only a few instances—Vyāghratati Maṇḍalādhipati Balavarman was an *adhipati or* lord *or vassal.*[133] *Mahāmaṇḍalikas* Iśwaraghosh and Samgrāmagupta were also vassals. The word '*Sāmanta*' has been translated as "a vassal, a feudatory prince, the chief of a district paying tribute to a lord paramount, a minister."[134] *Sāmanta* in the Mauryan period indicated independent neighbours.[135] Feudatories were not few and far between in that period. A defeated king was expected to render homage to his conqueror. In the seventh century, *Sāmanta* was used in the sense of a feudal baron. Manu held that a *Sāmanta* indicated a neighbouring proprietor of land.[136] *Sāmanta,* in the sense of a feudatory, is used in the *Barabar Hill Cave inscription* of Manukhari Anantavarman[137] and in the *Mandasore Stone Pillar inscription* of Yasodharman.[138] According to Kauṭilya, it means uniformly neighbour or independent neighbouring king. It has been commonly used for all vassal kings. *Māṇḍalika* has also been used in the sense of a feudatory. In an inscription of the time of Mahābhavagupta we find a feudatory Puga as the lord of fifteen villages only.[139] These feudatories also held some big official posts. Below the *Sāmantas*[140] and above the *Viṣayapatis* were the Bhogikas (*CII* —III. No. 16, 21; *IA*—V. 114). Below them were the *Grāmapatis* (*SII*—III, Part III. No. 110). These Grāmapatis in their respective areas were developing as manorial lords but not exactly in the Western sense of the term. These are some of the titles of the feudal lords who held lands in heirarchical order. They performed civil, military and criminal functions within their own jurisdiction. Lands were also granted to various classes of people, *e.g.,* goldsmith, coppersmith, blacksmith, stone-smith, carpenter, sculptor, basket-maker, barber, potter, shoe-makers, servants, *etc.,* in lieu of their services.[141] In some form or other, the system continues in Bihar. Some lands are assigned (without any written document) in perpetuity in lieu of the services of all kinds, in almost all the villages of Bihar, by the landlords. Landlordism is gone but the traces of feudalism are visible invariably in every village in Bihar even today. The system is also in vogue in Rajputana.[142]

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[125] *EI.*, XI, 80.
[126] *Ibid.*, 174.
[127] *EI.*, I, 85.
[128] *EI.*, III, 318.
[129] *Kāmasūtra*, V.5.5.
[130] Mirashi—*CII.* IV, No. 32.—The donated villages were free from all these obligations.
[131] *EI.*, XXI, No. 41A.
[132] *CII.*, IV, pp. 369-74.

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[133] *IB.,* III, 151.

[134] Monier-Williams—*Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* 1025.

[125] *As'*—1.6; *RE.,* II, 1.5; Cf. *Amarakoṣa* 2.8.2.

[136] *Manu.,* VIII, 286-9; *Yājñavalkya*—II, 152-53.

[137] *CIB.,* p. 16.

[138] Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* p. 394.

[139] B. N. Datta, *Studies in Indian Polity,* p. 434.

[140] B. N. Datta, *Hindu Law of Inheritance,* p. 27; cf. Pra-Nāth, *Economic Conditions in Ancient India,* p. 160.

[141] Cf. *JAHRS,* IV, 148-154.

The Gupta officials also issued grants. The *Karmadanda inscription* of the reign of Kumāragupta (G.E. 117) refers to a gift made by Pṛthivisena.[143] The *Lakṣmi image Inscription* of Vaiśālī refers to a *Sāmanta*. According to Bloch, there was an impression of a small seal bearing the inscription of "*Sri Lokenāthasya*" of a later date. *Kumārāmātyādhikarana* continued to enjoy a certain amount of territorial independence.[144] Specific mention of the feudatories in the early medieval records is indicative of the fact that they wielded immense political power in their respective areas. During the time of Kumāragupta, we have a list of two feudatories in succession (*CII*—III. P. 86). The *Eran Posthumus Stone Inscription* is a record of chivalry (*Ibid.* 91-93; for more see Pp. 23-25, 69, 86, 89, 150 ff., 92-94; 110-112; *EI*—X. 73). These feudatories granted lands to the Brāhmaṇas and others. Sometimes the *Bhogika* also wrote the charter. *Bhogika* seems to have been an official of the rank of a powerful overlord. He sometimes held the post of amātya (*CII*—III. 23). Three generations of *Bhogikas* are mentioned and it seems that the office was hereditary (*Ibid.* 26). *Bhogapatika* was an officer in Bengal in about 507 A.D. (*Select Inscriptions*—P. 360). They were positively the feudal lords *or* a *Jāgirdar* (*Ibid.*). *Mahāpramatri* Skandagupta is mentioned in the *Banskera CP* of Harṣa (*EI*—IV. 211). Lokenātha had a feudatory under him (*EI*—XV. 303). The *Deo-Barnak Inscription* of Jivitagupta II mentions *Bhosaka* Suryamitra and Ṛṣimitra (*CIB*—31, 32). The *Pāla Inscriptions* also refer to *Sāmantas* and *Mahāsāmantas* (—*CIB*—the *Pāla Inscriptions*). The *Naihati Inscription* of Vallalasena mentions a *Mahābhogika* (*IB*—III. 74). Feudatories are sometimes mentioned as receiving throne (*SII*—III—Part III. P. 222). Specific details about the feudal lords can be had from the Pallava Inscriptions.

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[142] Cases of cattle-lifting are noticed in the inscriptions.
[143] *EI.*, J, 71.
[144] *ASIAR.*, 1903-4, pp. 121-22; *CIB*—11.

In one of the Pallava inscriptions it is said—"A number of feudatory chiefs of the Pallava kings are represented and they are often seen paying homage to their overlords."[145] The popular belief was that the feudal barons, who died fighting in battle, ascended to heaven.[146] The belief had gained such strong currency that even as late as the Sena period, such acts were treated as valorous. The valorous acts of two feudal knights have been recorded in a memorial temple of Śiva erected on the ashes of the heroes of *Nimidighi battle* between the Palas and Senas of Bengal.[147] Heirarchical order of the feudatories is also evident from various records.[148] According to Altekar, the control, which the paramount power exercised, naturally varied with the status of the feudatory and its own capacity to check him.[149] Their subordinate status is evident. They paid homage to their imperial lord. They also kept their representatives at the court of the imperial lord.[150] Bankey, a feudatory governor of Banavasi, had his representative named Ganapati at the court of Amoghavarṣa I. Powerful feudatories issued grants without the sanction of the imperial power (*EI*—III. 310; *IA*—XI. 126). The Amauna plate records the grant of a village by a feudatory (*EI*—X. 50). Powerful feudatories created their own feudaories, sub-tenants, assess taxes and alienate land without any reference to their overlords. Weak ruler like Rāmpāla had to purchase his feudatories.

Indian feudal lords were not the true replica of their western counterpart. Here the feudal system arose out of the womb of the Indian society. Here it should be noted that there was the lack of a hereditary principle at the top. There were no regular baronies nor dukedoms. Assignment of military duties was not hereditary and thus there was a constant struggle between the secretariat and the higher court politics specially during the Rāj-

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[145] *MASI.*, No. 63; Appendix III. p. 6; At one place Hiuentsang explicitly states that the Governors, ministers, magistrates and officials had each a portion of land assigned to them for their personal support. Cf., Beal I, 22.

[146] *EI.*, VI, 162.

[147] Cf. an article of Bhattasali in the monthly *Vasumati* of 1942. A record of the time of Dhruva (8th cent. A.D.) records the commemoration of death of a local hero. Cf. *EI.*, VI, 163.

[148] *EI.*, IV, 257; XXI 16; XVIII 51; V. 215; XV, 303-4.

[149] *SGAI* (3rd edition)., p. 304.

[150] *EI.*, VI, 33. Cf. My— '*A Short Study of Kautilya's Arthaśāstra*'.

puta period of Indian history (Kosambi—*op. cit.,* Pp. 355-56). The earliest mention of feudal features in the inscription is that of *Corvee* recorded in the *Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription* of Rudradāman. In the land-grant charters, we see that the *kuṭumbins* are addressed. They are informed that they are now transferred by the Crown to a particular donee. The *Bengal CPs* refer to the land whose freedom from taxes in perpetuity is purchased. There grew a class of landowners as distinguished from the people who had no rights of ownership in land. They appear as landless tenants. There were mainly two classes—rich and poor. In one of the epigraphs, the Mahārājā issues the land grant as a proclamation—"all the assembled *kuṭumbins* headed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas" (*EI*—V. 134). In the five eastern Chālukya inscriptions, there is a phrase —"*Rāṣṭrakūṭa pramukhān kuṭumbinas Samāhuya*". It indicates that there was a special class of land-owners. We have already referred to the inscriptions of Amma I. (*EI—XXVII.* 41-47). Vemarāja was a feudal vassal. From the 10th century onwards, the grants are made at the instance of feudal lords (*EI*—XXIII. 266; 268; 141-3). The heirarchical feudal records appear from the Chaṇḍella Rājput period.

It is evident from the Vākaṭaka grant that the Brāhmaṇas could hold the grant only on condition that they do not wage wars.[151] The political purpose of the grant is evident and needs no comment. The *Brahmadeya* land carried with it judicial and administrative rights. Buddhaghosh also refers to it. This is supported by the fifth century A.D. grants, where, besides the transfer of revenue, police and administrative functions were also surrendered.[152] Permanent fiefs were also created. Sharma says—"From the point of view of the rise of Feudalism the transformation of the Śūdras from the position of slaves and hired labourers into that of agriculturists should be regarded as a factor of great significance."[153] The facts remain to be examined. The freedom to stay on the land *or* to go would signify the absence of serfdom. The rights of the state over the people were transferred to the recipient, which meant the receipt of fixed tribute but no proprietory *or ownership* rights.[154] In this connection Antonova's conclusions have been rightly challenged by Kosambi.[155] *All feudal lords in India were not normal landholders and their relationship to the king was not exactly the same as in medieval Europe.* With the change of dynasties fresh grants were issued. Very few secular grants have been discovered. Even the records, dealing with distinguished military service, do not enable us to suggest that a heirarchy of military class was super-imposed on the people. Here the lord and the feudatories were not outsiders but sons of the soil. The real character of Indian feudalism came to light under the Rāputas and the coming of the Muslims crystallised the system into a reality. Feudalism was the basis of the Muslim rule and even the state. The Muslim rulers imported the land system from Muslim countries, west of India.[156]

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[151] Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* p. 422.

[152] *JESHO.,* I, 298.

[153] *Ibid,* 323.

[154] *AISIH.,* 279.

Basham believes that the system in India was quasi-feudal[157] but in the present state of our knowledge, the conclusion seems to be reasonable. *Feudalism here developed in a different manner resting on different basis altogether. The relationship between the vassal and the lord was different from the European system.* Kausambi thinks that the feudal lords here were always afraid of the combined efforts of the peasantry and that is why they tried always "to cultivate some lands directly so as to be independent of the villagers."[158] According to him there were three distinguishing features of Indian feudalism—(a) increase of slavery; (b) absence of guilds, and (c) the lack of organised church.[159] There were trifle conflict over land in India—(i) the customary claims of the peasants, (ii) the delegated claims of the intermediaries, and (iii) the superior claims of the sovereign. *Feudal landholding barons of a peculiar type are seen in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions.*[160] Marco Polo also hints at the possibility of feudal barons in India.

The military heirarchy among the Rājputas, owing fealty to one acknowledged leader, goes back to their tribal and clan origin.

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155 ABORI., XXXVI, 258 ff.

156. Ishwari Prasad. *History of Quarannah Turks*, p. 259.

157. *The Glory that was India* (1954). p. 94.

158. *AISIH.*, 227; Cf. p. 279.

159. *Ibid*, 328—Conditional holding of land by lords on some kind of service tenure is noticeable among the medieval Rajputs. The Gangas developed it in the south in the 10th century A.D.

160. *EI.*, V. 118-141; III, 221-24; XXVII, 41-7.

Todd has preserved a very good account of the Rājput tradition. The Rājput social order tended to become feudalistic corresponding to a great extent to the medieval European system. The secular royal donations paved the way for new landowning class, who began to bear arms and collect taxes. The *Rāso* literature preserves a good account of Rājput powers and chivalry. In the middle ages, the chiefs of Seringapattam, Bankapur, Gersoppa, Calicut, Bhatakal and Bakannur were virtually independent except that they had to pay a regular cash tribute and to maintain a fixed quota each of armed forces.

VII

Feudalism reached its apex in Mithilā during the time of the *Karṇāṭas* and *Oinwāras*. *Śrīman, Mahāmattaka, Mahāsāmantādhipa* and *Mahāmaṇḍalika* are some of the well-known epithets used in literature and epigraphs. Gaṇeswara, the author of the *Sugati-Sopāna,* presided over the council of feudatory rulers of Mithilā and he was himself the chief of those feudatories. The whole of Mithilā seems to have been divided into a number of feudatories, the rulers of which met under the presidentship of Gaṇeśwara. The feudal barons formed the cabinet under the *Karṇātas*. They ultimately became so powerful that the post of the prime-minister became hereditary and three generations of Chaṇḍeśwara served under Harisiṁhadeva. These lords also acted as *aide-camp* of the kings of Mithilā. The different departments of the state were under these lords. The effective control of the barons made the king a virtual titular head in their hands. For Chaṇḍeśwara, caste in politics had lost all meaning though the hold of religion on politics was a reality (*RR*—Pp. 70-74). We learn from the *Prakrit-paingalaṁ* that Chaṇḍeśwara was himself a great baron and had under him a protege named Haribrahma. They donated lands, tanks, temples and performed *Tulāpuruṣa yajña*. They are said to have checked the autocratic power of Śakrasiṁha and Chaṇḍeśara takes all credit for victory in Nepal. The title *"Thakkura"* has been translated as barons. (*RR*—Introduction, P. 173).

These *'Thakkuras'* granted land to the Brāhmanas at Simarāmpur and Vireśwara built a palace known as "ladder to heaven". owing to its height (Cf—*Sugati-Sopāna*). Chaṇḍeśwara's king was a dependent on an emperor (*RR*—P. 4). The status of the Oinwāras was no better than the feudal vassals and we find them supplying troops to the emperor. The then political conditions forced Chaṇḍeśwara to change some of the basic tenets of political ideas, which were largely influenced then by local considerations. Currency was not a regular feature of the economy.[161] Land was the main source of income. The *Varṇanaratnākara* of Jyotiriśwara presents a picture of the contemporary social classes. There were *Nāgal, Toṅgal, Tāpasi, Telī, Tāñtī, Tivara, Turiā, Ṭuluka, Ṭurukaṭaruā, Dheol, Dhāṅgala, Dhākal, Dhārukha, Dhoāra, Dhuniyā, Dhalikāra, Domva, Bhala, Chaṇḍāra, Chamāra, Goṅṭḥa, Gonti, Goāra, Gābara, Oḍa, Suṇḍī, Sāra, Pañchakavāra, Paṭaniā, Parigaha, Chāvi, Muṇḍavāri, Vinda, Kādava, Nāgara, Luhu, Lagal, Lothī, Lavāla, Lapṭora, Naṅḍḥa, Nadajiha, Naighuṭa, Nahāka, Naṣadvaya, Lampāka*. Some of the criminal classes were—*Chora, Chanchal, Juāra, Chinnāra, Lagobāra, Peṭakaṭa, Nākaṭa, Kankaṭa, Muṇḍapholua, Naḍilolua*, etc. Some of the above-mentioned castes and social classes exist in Mithilā even to-day and are attached to their masters through land. Eighty-four kinds of kingly devoirs have been mentioned *Kallola II*. A king is to be surrounded by *Bhūpāla, Māṇḍalika, Sāmanta, Senāpati, Vaiśika, Rājaputra, Rājaśiṣṭḥa, Vayuliya, Pūrapati, Sevaka, Parichāraka*, etc. *Sāmantas* and others officials were expected to accompany the king in his hunting expedition. *Sāmanta* is also called a *Rājasevaka*. Various officers were described as *Rājopajivaka* and *Rājapadojivaka*. Thirty-six clans of *Rājputas* are mentioned. An account of the life in countryside is also preserved in his *Dhurtasamāgamanāṭaka*. Mutual acrimony and jealousy among the vassals led to a vicious atmosphere. The lords controlled the entire economic and political life of Mithilā in the middle ages. A complete survey of feudalism in Mithilā will be presented in a separate paper.

VIII

Thus the above survey gives an insight into the historical development of feudalism in India down to the 14th century A.D.

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[161] No coins of the Karṇaṭa dynasty has been discovered as yet. Three Oinwāra coins (2 silver and one gold) have so far been discovered. From a perusal of these coins, it is evident that these coins were meant for limited circulation and had possibly not acquired much economic importance. The paucity of coins in medieval Mithila is an evidence of the fact that Feudalism held sway and system of Jagir dominated the social life.

We have intentionally ignored the development of feudalism in the Muslim period as that would need a separate treatment. The present account is based mainly on the epigraphic sources though other sources have been tapped wherever necessary. Here in India *the conflict between king and his feudatory did not lead to any political and constitutional development within the framework of the state.* The feudatories revolted and created independent states as soon as the central authority became weak. The conditions, here, were entirely different. The intermediaries were of different grades, different environments and languages, whose allegiances (except on three occasions) were never centralised and focussed on a single person. These intermediaries were scattered widely over an immense territory. The feudatories could never resist a common overlord because of this reason. Between the Chakravartin and his tributary chiefs there was nothing like that moral obligation which subsisted between the lord and his vassal in Europe. The feudal landowners grew after Harśa and basic traits of Western type are gleaned through the late medieval inscriptions. On ceremonial occasions the feudatories were required to attend on the suzerain, and at the time they had possibly to render military services. In fine, *it can be said that feudalism developed here in a way different from the West and though there are few points of similarity; the conditions here do not call for any similarity of means and methods.*

ABBREVIATIONS

ASIAR—Archaeological Survey of India (Annual Reports).
ABORI—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AISIH—An introduction to the study of Indian History by D. D. Kosambi.
CII—Catalogus Inscriptionum Indicakium.
CIB—Inscriptions of Bihar—by R. K. Chaudhary.
EI—*Epigraphia Indica.*
IA—Indian Antiquary.
IB—Inscriptions of Bengal.
JESHO—Journal of Social and Economic History of the Orient (Leyden).
IHQ—Indian Historical Quarterly.
MASI—Memoirs of the Archaeoological Survey of India.
SGAI—State and Government in Ancient India by Altekar.
TM—History of Mithila by Upendra Thakur.
RR—Rājniti Ratnākara.

A Diary of the Partition Days

BY

GANDA SINGH

This diary was written by me during the most eventful days of the present century from the Panjab point of view. The upheaval that the country saw immediately before and after its division in 1947 is unparalleled in its history. From what I heard from several first-hand secret sources in 1946 and 1947 of the activities of the Muslim Leaguers of Amritsar and Lahore, I felt that something extraordinary was about to happen. This prompted me to be more regular in recording day to day events in greater detail.

Some indications of the coming events came from the speeches of the League leaders. As early as the beginning of April, 1946, Malik Sir Feroze Khan Noon said that "the havoc which the Muslims will play will put to shame what Halaku did." (*Tribune,* Lahore, April 11, 1946). And Halaku (Hulagu) Khan is known to the history of the world as one of the most cruel and remorseless destroyers of life and property. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar said in August 1946, seven months before the bloodthirsty dagger was actually unsheathed, that "Pakistan can only be achieved ... if need be, and opportunity arose, by shedding the blood of others. Mussalmans are no believers in the creed of *ahimsa.* We will do just as the situation demanded." (*Tribune,* Lahore, August 18, 1946.) And according to Raja Ghazanfar Ali's statement (31-8-1946), they were to wait "until the fire order comes from Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah." (Vide *C.M.G.,* Lahore.) On September 4, Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, President of the Panjab Provincial Muslim League, appealed to the Muslim lawyers "in the name of Islam and Pakistan .... to cast aside all thoughts of personal occupation, business and profit, and as shock troops of the Muslim League to spread out all over the province in every village, *qasba,* town and city and to do preliminary spade work of propaganda without which no revolutionary upsurge and determined struggle is possible."—*Dawn,* 5-9-1946. Even the Qaid-i-Azam, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, thought of civil war as an effective method of coercing his adversaries to agree to the demands of his Muslim League.

Preparations and training for a blood-bath, therefore, continued in full swing in the autumn and winter months of 1946 and the fire order was given in December, as a trial to begin with, in the north-western district of Haripur Hazara. This was predominantly a Muslim area and a dependable stronghold of the Muslim Leaguers. There could, therefore, be no doubt about the success of the fire and sword operations there against the negligible minorities of Hindus and Sikhs who were taken unawares. Encouraged by their successes in the north west, the Leaguers opened their offensive in the central Panjab in the cities of Amritsar and Lahore in March 1947. Considerable parts of these cities were burnt down in a few days. The contagion soon spread to other places as well, and by the time the division of the country was declared in August, the sword and fire had done incalculable harm to life and property in the urban as well as rural areas. As the Muslim Leaguers were found not to understand any other language than that of the sharp steel, the Hindus and Sikhs of the Panjab were left with no alternative. And this had the desired effect, although a little too late. There were then appeals and conferences for peace and promises of protection to the minorities. It, however, took some time before the refugees could go unscathed to their destinations.

The Diary given in the following pages opens with the 1st of April 1947 and ends with the 16th of January 1948, with a gap of three months—June, July and August—when I was too busy at the refugee camp at the Khalsa College Amritsar (where I was then a lecturer in history) to squeeze out any time for it. As it is, I hope, it will be of considerable help to the students of history when a close and critical study of this period comes to be undertaken.

For purpose of reference, the following abbreviations have been used in the Diary :

API	Associated Press of India
CM, CMG	Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore
HT	Hindustan Times, Delhi
INC	Indian News Chronicle, Delhi
St.	Statesman, Delhi
Tr.	Tribune, Lahore, Ambala

Patiala,
December 5. 1959.

GANDA SINGH.

THE DIARY

April 1, 1947, *Tuesday*

Two butchers Sadiq and Taj, who dressed as Nihang Sikhs and wearing artificial beards and moustaches, and armed with spears, had murdered Chanadin, a big land-lord of Mandeke in the jurisdiction of the Barki, confessed their crime and produced the artificial beards and moustaches used by them to look like Nihang Sikhs.

Five former soldiers of the Indian Army, namely Sardars Nanak Singh, Chhajju Singh, Gian Singh, Banta Singh and Surat Singh, who had been court-martialled at Singapore for refusing to shoot Indonesians, were released from the Lahore jail after the expiry of full term of 18 months of imprisonment.

Meetings were held in different parts of the country, particularly in the district of Jullundur, to mourn the loss of an eminent Sikh, Babu Labh Singh, who was murdered by Muslims while he was appealing to people to maintain peace and order and to resume normal work.

April 2, 1947, *Wednesday*

Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail, M.L.A., and Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafar, who had toured the affected and disturbed areas in the Rawalpindi and neighbouring districts, urged upon the Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi the necessity of restoring confidence among the minority communities. They were also successful in composing the differences between the local Sikhs.

Sardar Partap Singh, Giani Gurmukh Singh and Dr. Lehna Singh invited the attention of Mr. Plumb, D.I.G. in charge of investigations, to the havoc caused by Muslims in Chauntra Police Station in the Attock district and asked for immediate investigations in that area.

Qazi Attaullah, speaking in the Frontier Assembly, remarked: "I feel that certain British Government officials in the N. W. F. P. are in an unholy alliance with the Muslim League". "These British officials", he continued, "have been giving full access to Pir of Manaki and certain other League elements and are carrying on League propaganda in the tribal areas".

Six persons were killed and 20 injured as a result of the attack by green-uniformed Muslim Leaguers on Hindu and Sikh passengers at Gorazai Railway Station, 17 miles from Kohat towards Rawalpindi.

April 3, 1947, *Thursday*

Nine Hindu and Sikh members of the Central Assembly from the Panjab sent a letter to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru requesting him to forward it to the Viceroy and H. M. G. "The only way out of the present deadlock is to partition the Panjab into two provinces", said the letter, adding that "it is no longer a long term constitutional issue but an urgent and immediate administrative problem which should have the first priority".

Mr. Virendra, M.L.A., asked the Secretary of the Panjab Muslim League, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, in a statement, "if the Muslim is prepared to negotiate on the basis of two ministries in the province, one for the Muslim majority area, and the other for the non-Muslim majority area. As at present the Panjab will either have two ministries or none at all".

Sardar Ujjal Singh, M.A., M.L.A., said: "Division of the Panjab is the only remedy now and we all agree on that issue."

In a meeting of the Panjab Assembly Panthic Party, with Sardar Swaran Singh as its leader, there was complete unanimity on the question of the division of the Panjab. The Governor was urged "to take necessary steps to remove the inadequate representation of the minorities in the police now that 6,000 constables are to be recruited in the additional police. The party protested against "the heavy, inequitable and unjust collective fines" in Multan demanding that "only the aggressors be punished and not the aggrieved".

Malik Feroze Khan Noon, in a press interview, demanded the division of the armed forces and military equipment, and also ordnance factories.

A bill aiming at nullifying forcible conversions and marriages was introduced in the Council of State by Mr. S. K. Roy Chowdhry.

Eighteen prominent Sikh leaders issued an appeal to the Panth to contribute at least Re. 1 per head for a 50-lakh Fund to enable the Sikh community to fight Pakistan. Sardar Baldev Singh and S. Bhag Singh Gurdaspuri were appointed treasurers.

Replying to Mr. Jinnah's speech calling for truce on Pakistan basis, Sardar Patel said at Ahmedabad: "Congress is ready to sign the truce if the question of Pakistan is referred to an impartial tribunal ... Congress has made its decision....Congress will not submit to any injustice."

Dr. Khan Sahib said at press conference at Peshawar, "that six Hindus and Sikhs were killed, five injured seriously and three slightly injured by Muslim Leaguers in green uniform on the train yesterday. Fifteen men, women and children travelling on the train were missing.

Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud, head of the Ahmadiya community, in the course of his address at a meeting of his followers, advised the Muslims not to get mad for Pakistan. Majority of the world is not in favour of Pakistan; rather it stands for the unification and solidarity of countries.

Addressing the 1st Sikh Infantry Regiment at Patiala, His Highness Maharaja Yadavindra Singh felt proud of the glorious traditions of his forces. They belonged to the Panth and Panth was theirs, said he, and that they were ever ready to offer the biggest sacrifice for its protection.

April 4, 1947, *Friday*

A relief committee of non-officials, consisting of Miss Pritam Takhat Singh, Mr. Ram Kumar, Advocate, Dr. Niranjan Singh and others was formed, and a relief camp for 100 refugees was being opened at Kapurthala.

Dr. Khan Sahib of Peshawar said in a statement, "Pir of Manaki was throughout preaching to his followers in the frontier to organise for communal war. It is wrong to say that he has been preaching communal harmony. The tribes are absolutely disinterested in the politics and League's communal movements in the N.W.F.P."

A deputation of the Panjab Provincial Congress Committee met Mahatma Gandhi and gave him first-hand report on the communal riots in the Panjab. Acharya Kripalani was also present.

Earlier they met Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and told him that a large section of the minority communities in the Panjab favoured the Congress Working Committee's resolution regarding the partition of the Panjab.

April 5,1947, *Saturday*

Hissar.—Rao Bahadur Surajmall, M.L.A., member of the Constituent Assembly in the course of a statement said: "The Hariana Jats are completely in agreement with the Sikhs in making the demand for the division of the Panjab and they will not lag behind in making any sacrifice for the fulfilment of this end. In saying this, I am voicing the feeling of one and all of the Hariana Prant."

Mr. Sudarshan, Deputy Leader, Punjab Assembly Congress Party, said in a statement, "It is no doubt pleasing to hear that some of these gentlemen, who till yesterday were talking of Changez Khan and Halaku Khan, are to-day sermonising on the benefits of peace and harmony. Probably they have realised that their dream of having a Muslim League Ministry can never be realised so long as communal disturbances last. But if they insist on partition of India, they must be prepared for the partition of the Panjab also. They cannot have it both ways. And, if the Panjab is to be partitioned, then why not have right now, and solve the Ministerial tangle."

The assertion that on the restoration of normal and peaceful atmosphere, the Sikhs will be prepared to enter into negotiations on the basis of the division of the Panjab, is made by Sardar Swaran Singh and Sardar Ujjal Singh. ... "The League leaders talk of a round table conference to settle the outstanding constitutional issues, but they have done nothing to inspire confidence amongst the minorities and have not even condemned the barbarities committed by their co-religionists on innocent and helpless victims. If the League leaders are sincere in what they profess, they should publicly denounce the heinous acts of their co-religionists and withdraw all aid, direct and indirect to them."

Referring to the influence of the Muslim League, the Premier, Dr. Khan Sahib, said, that practically it was a defunct body. Only a handful of Khans, Mullahs and Pirs, who in the past were in the service of the irresponsible foreign rulers and played traitors' role to their country, had now gathered under a different label.

Baba Kharak Singh, in the course of a statement, suggested that a convention of the Sikh Panth should be called immediately and plebiscite on the division of the Panjab was not practicable and that it would weaken the solidarity and integrity of the Panth.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah had his first talk with the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten.

Mr. Khalid Latif Gauba in his message to the Muslims tells them that they cannot have a League Ministry without the co-operation of other parties and that they cannot have Pakistan without the confidence of the minority communities. "As the Muslim League is the largest party in the Legislature, the duty for restoring order in the province rests more on its shoulders than on any other. It is the duty, therefore, of the Muslim leaders as a first step to make an all-out effort to have the abducted women promptly restored to their families, to induce those in the possession of loot to voluntarily hand it over to the authorities, and to make generous personal contributions for the relief of riot victims, not only of one community but of all communities."

11 *April,* 1947, *Friday*

"We are determined to see that the Panjab is divided, because in such division alone can there be reciprocal protection and not in the imposition of a communal ministry. . . . The Panjab will never agree to a partisan communal ministry. Mr. Ghazanfar Ali talks of provocation—what provocation? The flashing of the solitary sword when thousands of swords had been flashing for 34 days before the ministry fell! Coercion was the order of the day," said Dewan Chaman Lal at Calcutta.

12 *April,* 1947, *Saturday*

The *Times,* London, said in an editorial: The Muslim League attempt to seize power in the Panjab, admittedly the nodal point of Pakistan, has so far broken down in the face of Hindu and Sikh opposition. If persisted in, it seems likely to reinforce the growing demand for the division of the province into Muslim and non-Muslim areas."

"Open propagation of coercive methods and adoption of unconstitutional means by the Muslim League to capture power has resulted in the creation of a very unhappy situation. Some thousands of innocent persons have been killed and a still larger number have become homeless. Property worth crores of rupees has been destroyed. ... Under the circumstances, we support whole-heartedly the proposal for the partition of the Panjab, and, as a first step in the direction, demand the immediate setting up of two ministries in the province." L. Bhimsen Sachar and S. Swaran Singh, (*C.M.G.* 15).

13 *April*, 1947, *Sunday*

"The Pakistan demand of the Muslim League is a negative demand," said Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru at the Jallianwala Bagh Day meeting at New Delhi. Continuing he said, "How can this problem be solved? It can either be done through mutual agreement or by a fight. There is no other course." "No political aim can be achieved by coercion and intimidation." (*C.M.* 15).

The Hindus and Sikhs of Calcutta, through Lala Karam Chand Thapar, presented to Sardar Swaran Singh a cheque for One lakh of rupees for relief work.

500 Sikhs from all parts of the Panjab took pledge in front of the Akal Takht, Amritsar, to fight Pakistan.

"If, as desired, we have but to divide our country, we have also to consider the question of division of those areas where the Hindus are in a majority, as we have to divide Bengal and the Punjab. ... the Congress will have to see that the majority community does not force the minority to remain with it."—Dr. Rajendra Prasad. (*C.M.G.* 15).

14 *April*, 1947, *Monday*

Baba Kharak Singh in a statement said: "I am a staunch advocate of Akhand Hindustan. ... Should, however, partition become inevitable and be unfortunately thrust upon us, I would plead for adequate safeguards and legitimate protection for the non-Muslim minorities living in the territories proposed to be partitioned. (*C.M.* 15).

Master Tara Singh condemned the criticism levelled at the Maharaja of Patiala by the Muslim press for his saying at the ceremony of presenting new colours to the 1st Patiala Sikh Infantry that his army belonged to the Panth as the Panth belonged to his army and that "the State Forces should always be prepared to defend a righteous cause during critical times ahead." It was a mere reiteration of historical fact. The Phulkian States, Patiala, Nabha and Jind, were governed by the sole principle: "What is mine is yours", declared Master Tara Singh.

Sardar Patel appealed to the Muslim League to settle the question of Pakistan and partition with fellow countrymen, addressing a meeting at Bombay. If this question was not settled peacefully and amicably, he declared, then the only way it could be settled was by adopting a recourse to violence and bloodshed. Such a course would lead to mutual slaughter and all-round destruction, and, hence, it would benefit none. (*C.M.* 16).

15 *April*, 1947, *Tuesday*

The following communique was issued from the Viceroy's House, New Delhi:

"On His Excellency the Viceroy's initiative and at his special request, Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah signed the following declaration and authorised its publication:

"We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India, and the greatest misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were aggressors and who were the victims.

"We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends and we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder but also to avoid both in speech and writing, any incitement to such acts. (Sd.) M. A. Jinnah, (Sd.) M. K. Gandhi.

The General Council of the Frontier Majlis-i-Ahrar, through a resolution, condemned in unequivocal terms the hooliganism and goondaism prevailing in the Frontier province. (*Tr.* 18).

16 *April*, 1947, *Wednesday*

In a meeting held at Amritsar, the Shromani Akali Dal, through a resolution, expressed the opinion that "the partition of the

Panjab was the only remedy to end communal strife in the Panjab and for purposes of determining boundaries, it suggested the appointment of a Boundary Commission which could keep in view the question of population, landed property and protection of historical and religious buildings.

The second resolution condemned the Muslim League's and Muslim papers' demand for the banning of the Kirpan.

The third resolution congratulated the Maharaja of Patiala for affording timely relief and shelter to refugees.

Mir Makhdum Hussain Qureishi in a statement at Lahore said: "On behalf of my co-religionists, I assure the Hindus and Sikhs in Multan division that the Muslims would always protect their lives and property and that they need have no fear and distrust now. I shall advise them to stick to their ancestral hearths and homes rather than resort to migration, which would create more trouble and unrest. (*Tr.* 18).

17 *April,* 1947, *Thursday*

Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan in a statement opposed the division of the Punjab as ruinous for all communities.

18 *April,* 1947, *Friday*

Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh and Sardar Baldev Singh met the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten. They are understood to have demanded division of the Punjab with river Chenab as its boundary, and veto power for the Sikhs in respect of questions affecting Sikh interests as is given to the Muslims. They also urged for substantial increase in the percentage of Sikhs in the police force. (C.M. 19).

According to a statement of Qazi Ata-ullah, Revenue Minister of Peshawar, a Muslim student from the Punjab held a conference with the Muslim Leaguers of Dera Ismail Khan and then excited the Muslims to set fire to the shops and houses of the Hindus and plunder their property, if they could not do anything else. Immediately after this inflammatory speech that young man began to set fire to Hindu shops with the help of local boys. One Afghan tribe also took part in murder and loot. (*Prabhat,* 19).

20 *April*, 1947, *Sunday*

A nephew of S. Partap Singh, M.L.A., was shot at and wounded in the abdomen in Peshawar Cantonment.

22 *April*, 1947, *Tuesday*

Sardar Swaran Singh and L. Bhimsen Sachar sent a representation to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru demanding immediate division of the Punjab into two or three autonomous provinces saying "that in the existing circumstances we are not prepared to cooperate with the Muslim League for forming a single ministry for the whole of the Punjab. Pinning the responsibility of the recent violence and rioting in the Punjab on the Muslim League, they said: "These dreadful events of the last month and a half have conclusively proved that any Government in which the Muslim League is the dominant partner will not inspire confidence and will fail to protect the minorities." (*Tr.* 23).

"We cannot submit to be ruled by those who have committed or caused to be committed these inhuman atrocities in the Punjab and, therefore, demand that immediate steps be taken to divide the Punjab into two, and, if necessary, into three autonomous provinces." (*CM.* 23).

"There can be no solution on the basis of Pakistan," and "bloodshed can stop if Jinnah is sincere", said Mr. Ali Zaheer in a statement at Sultanpore (Oudh). (*CM.* 23).

23 *April*, 1947, *Wednesday*

Baba Kharak Singh in a statement to the press said: "If the Muslim League is really anxious to win the confidence and cooperation of the non-Muslims in the Punjab, let its leaders come forward and do something tangible in condemning the recent disturbances. The Khalsa is big enough to forgive and forget, but under no circumstances will the Sikhs submit to injustice and humiliation." (*CM.* 24).

Bhai Bhag Singh, the well-known Sikh musician, of Faruka, died at the Chiefs College, Lahore. (*Kh. Sam.* May 1).

24 *April*, 1947, *Thursday*

Feeling that the Viceroy is determined to play fair, Mr. Jinnah appealed "to the Muslims generally and Muslim Leaguers in particular, to maintain peace and order so as to give the Viceroy every opportunity to fully understand the situation." (*CM*. 25).

According to Sardar Mangal Singh's statement at Ludhiana, "it will be suicidal for the Sikhs to go anywhere near the tempting offers that the Muslim League leaders are making to the Sikhs." (*CM*. 25).

25 *April*, 1947, *Friday*

The "Ajit", Lahore, reappeared after a suspension of a fortnight. Student demonstrators fired at near the Punjab University, Lahore, and Om parkash Bhatia of Multan, a student of Dyal Singh College, was killed, and another student was injured.

26 *April*, 1947, *Saturday*

News from Jullundur—Seven persons including the son of the Muslim sub-Inspector in charge of the Sardar Police Station have been arrested in connection with the murder of Babu Labh Singh on the 6th of March while going about on peace mission. (*Tr*. 27).

The S. G. P. C. and the S. A. Dal sent the following telegram to the Viceroy, Pt. Nehru, Sardar Patel and Sardar Baldev Singh:

"Numerous reports of police interference with Kirpan, the religious symbol of the Sikhs, received. Great resentment prevailing. The Sikh community can under no circumstances tolerate such interference with this fundamental religious right." (*Tr*. 27).

Syed Ali Zaheer in a statement to the press at Lucknow said: "Every honest man knows that the Muslim League and the British policy pursued in the past are directly responsible for the present state of affairs. The riots were and are the direct result of the direct action resolution of the Muslim League and they began on August 16, 1946". (*C.M*. 27).

Sardar Mangal Singh, M.L.A., said that before 1925, India had nine provinces, which were later on made 11. So division meant readjusting of boundaries. "For the maintenance of peace this is essential", he declared. (*C.M.G*. 27).

News from Rawalpindi.—A number of lambardars, inamdars, military pensioners and zaildars are among the 1371 persons so far reported to have been arrested in Jhelum district.

These include one Yakub, a big landlord and zaildar and the first inamdar of Ghoog, the worst affected village in the Nila police station of Chakwal sub-division; a lambardar of Warval, another village in the Nila police station, two subedars of Chak Mamlok in the Chakwal police station; a lambardar of Bhin village; Zaildar Mohd. Bux of Dhudial and Aslam of Dhumal Kamal.

27 *April,* 1947, *Sunday*

An Ahrar worker of Amritsar condemned the Muslim agitation against the Kirpan of the Sikhs and said that it was un-Islamic to interfere with the religious beliefs of other people. (*Ajit.* 30).

The names of S. Jaidev Singh and S. Gian Singh Rarewala were announced by the Maharaja of Patiala as representatives of the Patiala State in the Constituent Assembly. (*CM.* 29).

The Frontier Finance Minister, Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, gave the total figure of 400 killed, 150 wounded, 50 places of worship and 1600 shops and houses burnt and looted, over 300 persons forcibly converted, 50 abducted since the commencement of atrocities in December last in Hazara. (*CM.* 30). Not a single Muslim killed in the riots. (*HT.* 30).

Bawa Gurdit Singh, Guru of the Nirankari Sect, died at Rawalpindi at the age of 84. He had ascended the *gaddi* in 1909. (*CM.* 30).

28 *April,* 1947, *Monday*

Third preliminary meeting of the Constituent Assembly opened with Dr. Rajendra Prasad as President.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, on the eve of the Viceregal visit made a sensational allegation against the Frontier Governor, Sir Olaf Caroe, both at a press conference and public meeting at Charsadda: "Sir Olaf Caroe was alleged to have sent for his ministers on or about March 11 and advised them to join the Muslim League, in which he would give them all support". (*CM.*, May 3).

29 *April,* 1947, *Tuesday*

The Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, visited Kahuta, Muslim-riot affected town in the Rawalpindi district.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana in a press statement suggested a conference of three communities of the Punjab to discuss methods of restoring peace in the province and of tracking the criminals. (*HT.*, May 1, *CM.*, 30).

A deputation of the Hindu-Sikh Minorities Board, with Sardar Partap Singh and R. B. Dina Nath and five others, presented a memorandum to the Viceroy pinning the responsibility of the riots and all the bloodshed upon the Muslim League's direct action. (*Ajit,* May 1).

The Executive Committee of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Mahasabha resolved that in case some of the provinces of India were to be separated, the Punjab and Bengal should be so divided as to leave Law and Order and Defence in the hands of the Central Government. It further resolved that communal disturbances should be checked and that an Enquiry Committee be set up to enquire into the causes and effects of the riots. (*Ajit,* May 2).

30 *April* 1947, *Wednesday*

Lady Mountbatten visited the riot affected areas of Amritsar.

Mr. Jinnah, in a statement, denounced the demand for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal as "a sinister move, actuated by spite and bitterness", and demanded the division of the defence forces for himself. (*CM.* May 1). While pleading for the division of India in his statement, he opposed the division of the provinces. (*HT.* 2).

Dr. Rajendra Prasad in an interview declared that if there was to be division of India then it should be as complete and as thorough as possible, including the division of the Punjab and Bengal, so that there might not be left any room for contention or conflict. "If that requires division of defence forces, that should also be brought about, and the sooner the better". (*HT.* May 2).

Dr. Mubarik Ali Khan, General Secretary of India Muslim League of America in a letter to Dr. Aranha, President of the General Assembly, wrote "On behalf of the India Muslim League of America that....the United Nations take up the question of who is responsible for death by violence of thousands who might have lived to see a genuinely free India".—Reuter (*CM.* May 2).

1 *May*, 1947, *Thursday*

Mian Mumtaz Daultana, General Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League and Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League Committee of Action resigned their respective offices with the ostensible object of concentrating on relief operations in the riot-affected areas. (*CM*. 2; *Tr*. 3).

Lady Mountbatten visited the riot-affected areas of Amritsar city. A young cameraman ventured to suggest to Her Excellency "that Mr. Jinnah should be asked to tour the riot-affected areas in the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. as Mahatma Gandhi was doing in other parts of India. (*CM*. 3)

Referring to the continuance of violence in the N.W.F.P., the Punjab and other places, Mahatma Gandhi "held that it was not open to Jinnah Sahib to plead that his followers did not listen to his appeal in the face of his claim to the undisputed Presidentship of the Muslim League representing the vast bulk of the Muslim population." Was the British Government to yield to the force of arms rather than the force of reason"? he asked.

Thirty influential tribesmen of Waziristan made an emphatic declaration that the tribal people do not support Mr. Jinnah's move for Pakistan and that they welcomed the appointment of the Tribal Area Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly. (*HT*. 2).

2 *May*, 1947, *Friday*

Although the original draft of the constitution of India was being framed in English, it was announced by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of Constituent Assembly, that he would get it translated into the national language.

Sardar Swaran Singh, Lala Bhimsen Sachar and Sardar Harnam Singh saw the Governor, Sir Evan Jenkins, at Lahore and placed before him Hindu-Sikh plan of partition, dividing the province in such a way as to ensure the solidarity of the Sikhs and an equal distribution of provincial assets, including a share in canal colonies. (*CM*. 3, *Tr*. 3).

The Government of the Punjab "forfeited a document purporting to contain instructions issued by the Muslim League for the establishment of Pakistan by direct action and violent methods and supposed to have been given out by an ex-Muslim Leaguer, and described variously as a circular and a letter."

The document, according to forfeiture order, is likely to promote feelings of enmity between different classes of His Majesty's subjects.—A.P.I. (*CM*. 3)

Ch. Lahiri Singh, Sir Tek Chand, Giani Kartar Singh, S. Ujjal Singh, Mr. Prithvi Singh Azad, and also Diwan Chaman Lal, Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, met the Congress Working Committee to place before them their demand for the division of the Panjab. (*Tr*. 3)

3 *May*, 1947, *Saturday*

In a statement Master Tara Singh said, "the partition of the Punjab must be based on the consideration of the population of the Muslims and non-Muslims and the property held by them". (*CM*. 4, *Tr*. 5).

At a meeting organised by the National Muslim Committee of Great Britain, Chudhry Akbar Khan, President of the India Workers Association, criticised the policy being pursued by Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League and said, that history scarcely provided another instance in which a section of the community had lost all reason. (*CM*. 4).

Sardar Bahadur Sir Jwahir Singh of Mustafabad died of heart failure at Ambala at the age of 70. (*Tr*. 3).

Badshah Khan of Frontier in a statement said that in his opinion "the British plan seemed to be to help the Muslim League in the Frontier Province in order to make the Frontier and a part of the Punjab as a buffer state between Russia and India. (*Tr*. 4).

Dr. Khan Sahib in a statement at Peshawar said: "It has come to my knowledge that an absconder accused of violence in my bungalow case has been presented to the Viceroy in a deputation of the Muslim League and the man has been sent by air to Mr. Jinnah. I am going to make an official investigation as to how this has been done". (*Tr*. 5).

New Delhi.—Mahatma Gandhi regretted in the prayer meeting that no definite and tangible move in the direction of peace on the part of Mr. Jinnah was noticeable so far. Or else how could communal disturbances still continue in areas where the followers of Jinnah were predominant. (*Tr*. 5).

According to Maulavi Ghairat Gul, the Afridi tribe of Tribeh had given shelter to about 2,000 refugees from the Frontier Province and provided them even with fire-arms for protection. *Tr.* 5, *HT.* 7).

4 *May*, 1947, *Sunday*

Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, while presiding at the meeting of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, observed: "I must say that the Congress policy of appeasement and its desire to placate the Muslim League has resulted in giving so much strength to the Muslim League. As it happens the generosity of the Congress has been regarded by the League and Mr. Jinnah as a weakness of which they have taken full advantage".

While reiterating its faith in the unity of India, the P.P.C. resolved that if the anti-national and undemocratic demand of the Muslim League is to be accepted and India is to be partitioned, then that part of the Punjab which desires to remain with the Indian Union should be entitled to exercise its inalienable right to do so. (*Tr.* 5).

5 *May*, 1947, *Tuesday*

At the annual function of the Jat College, Rohtak, the Maharaja of Patiala, the Maharaja of Bharatpur, Sardar Baldev Singh, Giani Kartar Singh, while criticising Mr. Jinnah's demnd for Pakistan and his attitude towards the riots, supported the claim of the Jats for a separate province. (*Tr.* 7).

Mr. Feroze Khan Noon in a statement to the press said: "We Muslims are not willing to surrender one inch of the Punjab territory".

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa, Congress leader of Sind, had an interview with Pt. Nehru and pressed the demand of the Hindu minorities of Sind to be taken outside Pakistan and to amalgamate seven towns of Sind consisting of the Hindu majorities into one separate division. (*Tr.* 7).

Acharya Jugal Kishore, General Secretary of the Congress, and Diwan Chaman Lal, who had been sent to survey the Frontier situation, in a statement, reported to Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru that Sir Olaf Caroe was responsible for encouragement to the lawbreakers in the province and that he should be removed from governorship. (*HT*. 6).

The Director of Constitutional Affairs of the Chamber of Princes in a statement contradicted the report that Princes were thinking of setting up a Constituent Assembly for the States. (*HT*. 6).

In a very challenging and outspoken statement, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan accused Sir Olaf Caroe of "an open conspiracy with the Muslim League to bathe the province in blood". "I am afraid the Governor's nefarious deeds will lead to a most unimaginable bloodshed and carnage in my province for he seems to be bent upon making the Pathans fight amongst themselves. .... It is dishonest on the part of the present Governor to give a political status to the communal movement of the Muslim League whose followers have been indulging in the murder of innocent men, women and children", said the Khan at Peshawar. (*HT*. 7).

6 *May*, 1947, *Wednesday*

Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah met at New Delhi. They discussed two matters. They could not agree on the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan. Mahatma Gandhi was opposed to it while Jinnah insisted on it. According to Mr. Jinnah's statement, they agreed "that we must do our best in our respective spheres to see that the appeal of ours is carried out and we will make every effort for this purpose. (*Tr., CM*. 7).

Ban on the publication of the *Parbhat*, Lahore, for three months was imposed under the Punjab Public Safety Act in connection with the Anti-Pakistan Number of the paper. (*Tr*. 7).

In reply to a question Mahatma Gandhi said: "It would be a good thing if the British were to go today—13 months mean mischief to India. I do not question the nobility of the British declaration. I do not question the sincerity of the Viceroy, but facts are facts". (*HT*. 7).

The Frontier League leaders in consultation with Mr. Jinnah decided not to call off the Civil Disobedience Movement in that province. (*CM*. 7).

Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, a former premier of the Frontier province who was arrested at Mardan on May, under Frontier Criminal Regulations, sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment in default of security. (*CM.* 7).

A book "Rape of Rawalpindi", being a collection of photographs of the happenings in Rawalpindi District, compiled by Prabodh Chandra, M.L.A., on behalf of the Complaints Section of the Punjab Riots Sufferers Relief Committee was proscribed. (*Tr.* 8).

7 *May,* 1947, *Wednesday*

A collective fine of Rs. 30 lakhs was imposed by the Governor of the Punjab on the Muslims of the Rawalpindi district, excluding the areas within the Municipal and Cantonment limits of Rawalpindi and the Municipal limits of Gujjarkhan, with a few other exemptions. (*Tr., CM.* 8)

Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Muslims in general, and the Muslim Leaguers in particular, to remain peaceful, in a statement on the Frontier situation. (*Tr.* 8).

Giani Kartar Singh and Sardar Ujjal Singh met the Governor at Lahore and discussed the question of the division of the Punjab and relief measures. (*Tr.* 8).

8 *May,* 1947, *Thursday*

The genesis of the Zalme-Pakhtoon ("Young Afghans") was explained by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the leader of the non-violent Khudai-Khidmatgars, as "a strong reaction among the Pathans to Muslim League violence", and an organization believing in armed defence of non-violent people against violence and terrorism. "Its object is defence and not offence." The Khudai Khidmatgars are wedded to non-violence, declared the Khan. (*CM.* 9).

Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, the Socialist leader, who arrived at Hyderabad (Deccan) on May 7, was arrested and externed from the State. (*Tr.* 8).

9 *May,* 1947, *Friday*

The division of India, a reactionary step, "which no one welcomes outside the ranks of the Muslim League" "throws away the chief boon of political and economic unity which British rule had brought to the people of India," said *The New Statesman and Nation,* London. (*CM.* 10).

There was a setback in the communal situation in Amritsar where five persons were killed and 8 injured as a result of stray stabbings. (*CM., Tr.* 10).

Dr. Muhammad Alam, Bar-at-Law, died at Lahore.

Sardar Atma Singh, ex-chairman of the Sheikhupura Municipality, in a statement to the press, protested against the rumoured inclusion of the Sheikhupura District in the Pakistan areas. More than half the land in the district belongs to the non-Muslims and more than 50% revenue is paid by the Sikhs and Hindus. The entire industry and business belongs to them. The house-property in the towns is almost entirely theirs. Nankana Sahib, the birthplace of Guru Nanak, with an estate of about 800 squares of land, is like Mecca to them. They have seven high schools, while Muslims do not have even one. The population figure of the Muslims is false and inflated, as in many other places.

The first rally of the *Zalme Pakhtoon* at Utman Zai in Charsadda Tehsil under the command of Khan Abdul Ghani Khan. (*Tr.* 12).

10 *May,* 1947, *Saturday*

Stabbings continued in Amritsar.

A crowd of 200 Muslims fell upon a cremating party of about a dozen Hindus including a woman, (of Kucha Kamboan, Katra Sher Singh) outside Daimganj, when the latter were returning home after disposing off the dead body of a child and massacred seven of them in cold blood with all sorts of crimes, dashed their bodies against the wall of an Idgah mosque, and then set them on fire with petrol. One woman and three men, who had also been injured, escaped during the confusion.

"I was shocked to see such a ghastly tragedy and never in my life had I seen such a crime", said a Police official to the A.P.I.

The District Magistrate imposed a fine on the locality (Nawankot), where the ghastly tragedy took place, at the rate of Rs. 20 per adult residing in the area with a view to awarding immediate compensation to survivors of the deceased. The number of people affected by this order is estimated at 9,000. (*Tr.* 11).

Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail, going in a jeep to Jhabal, was attacked by an armed Muslim mob at the Bhagtanwala railway crossing between 3-00 and 4-00 p.m. Sardar Ishar Singh warded off the attack with his Kirpan and escaped when his driver backed the car and returned to Amritsar. (*Tr.* 11).

The Viceroy invited Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Baldev Singh to a meeting at his house at New Delhi at 10-30 A.M. on Saturday the 7th of May, to present to them the plan which the H. M. G. has made for the transfer of power to Indian hands.

The representatives of the Indian States, who were on the States Negotiating Committee, are also invited for meeting the same afternoon. (*Tr.* 11).

S. Swaran Singh declared that the Sikhs were determined not to remain under Muslim subjugation and reiterated the demand of the Hindus and Sikhs for the division of the Punjab along the natural boundary of the Chenab to ensure a fair distribution of the population, property and provincial assets. (*HT.* 12).

On account of the communal atmosphere in the Muslim University, Aligarh, the U.P. Government permitted the Dharam Samaj and Barahseni Intermediate Colleges of the town to be affiliated to the Agra University for Degree classes. (*HT.* 12).

Ch. Hamidullah Khan, Acting President, All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference Party in Kashmir Assembly, in a statement, urged the Maharaja to immediately declare Kashmir an independent State and to convene its own Constituent Assembly in order to frame a constitution for the people of the State according to their own liking. (*Tr.* 12). In this, the Chaudhry has assured full cooperation of the Muslims.

Hindus and Sikhs of Gurdaspur, in a number of telegrams to Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, have urged him to exert his pressure on the authorities in England and India not to include Gurdaspur in the proposed Pakistan, "as it is not a Muslim majority district." (*Tr.* 12).

Sardar Shaukat Hayat, in a statement, tried to explain how the division of the Punjab would benefit neither the Hindus nor the Sikhs and urged them to remain in Pakistan, "and if non-Muslims are unhappy after a trial in Pakistan, there can be room for the exchange of population". (*Tr.* 12).

Mr. Shankarrao Deo, Secretary of the Congress, addressing a public meeting at Dadar, declared that if India were to be divided, the Congress would insist on the division of Bengal and the Punjab to the end. (*HT.* 12).

11 *May,* 1947, *Sunday*

To avert the partition of Bengal, Prof. Humayun Kabir, M.L.C., suggested to Premier Suhrawardy to have a bill, or at least a resolution passed, accepting joint electorates for the province and inviting Congress Party to join his cabinet on a basis of equality. (*Tr.* 12).

Leaders' Conference with the Viceroy fixed for May 17, postponed to June 2, and the meetings of the Congress and the Muslim League were also postponed.

Speaking at Nahaqqi, in Peshawar Tehsil, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said, "Now that the British are leaving India for good it behoves that all of us, whether red-shirts or green-shirts, poor or rich, should hold a united jirga and chalk out a programme common for the welfare of the entire Pakhtoon race. (*Tr.* 13).

12 *May,* 1947, *Monday*

Amritsar witnessed regular pitched battles in which a large number of country-made bombs were used. There were nine cases of arson. 18 persons were reported to have been arrested in connection with the cold-blooded murder in the Daimganj area. (*Tr.* 14).

Qazi Attaullah, Revenue Minister, declared at Peshawar "that the Frontier Province would be an independent sovereign state devoid of any influence of either the so-called Hindustan or Pakistan. (*Tr.* 13).

13 *May,* 1947, *Tuesday*

Officially announced by the Defence Department that "There is now no restriction on the entry to General Headquarters, Simla, of Sikhs wearing Kirpans of any sort, size or description." Owing to a misunderstanding on the part of certain G.H.Q. policemen, who did not realise that the term Kirpan included swords, instances had occurred of Sikhs wearing such Kirpans being refused admittance to the Headquarters. (*Tr.* 14.)

Sardar Swaran Singh and Dr. Gopi Chand discussed with Bikaner philanthropists, at Bikaner, relief arrangements in refugee camps there and paved the way for a Relief Committee to undertake this work. (*Tr.* 15).

A Professor of the Punjab University turned two Sikh students, Amrik Singh of the Government College and Harcharan Singh of Dyal Singh College (First Year Honours School in Physics), out of the class-room for wearing Kirpans. (*Tr.* 16).

14 *May,* 1947, *Wednesday*

Riot madness returned to Lahore, with 11 killed and 17 injured. (*Tr.* 15).

Reported from Indore that 35 Central India states, with the exception of Bhopal and Indore, decided to enter the Constituent Assembly. (*Tr.* 16).

15 *May,* 1947, *Thursday*

Amritsar and Lahore continued to be in the grips of communal riots.

According to the leading article of the *Tribune,* Lahore, the Muslim demand for Pakistan is based on fictitious Census figures.

The District Magistrate, Lahore, banned the holding of Jor Mela at Lahore in connection with the martyrdom of Guru Arjan on account of riots in the city. (*Tr.* 16).

Pay Commission's Report recommending Rs. 55/- and Rs. 90/- as fair minima in the present economic conditions for a working class and a middle class family. (*Tr.* 16).

Sikh National College, Lahore, searched. Some rifle and pistol cartridges were recovered. A pistol was recovered from outside the premises. Half a dozen students were taken into custody. (*Tr.* 16, 17).

Karachi was reported to have been suggested as the seat of Pakistan Assembly. (*Tr.* 17).

In a confidential circular, the Provincial Muslim League asked the Leaguers not to work with Hindus on Peace Boards. (*Tr.* 17).

Partition of Sind was demanded in a letter of the President of All-India Hindu Sangha to the Viceroy, saying that the districts of Nawabshah, Hyderabad, Tharparkar and a part of Karachi be amalgamated with the Jodhpur State. (*Tr.* 17).

Mr. Prithvi Singh Azad, in his memorandum to the Punjab Governor, urged division of the Punjab along the River Chenab. (*CM.* 19).

16 *May,* 1947, *Friday*

Riot situation in Lahore deteriorates, with several stabbing cases and numerous devastating fires.

Reports published that some badmashes of Amritsar had sent to the goondas of Lahore some bangles (and also mehdi, according to verbal reports in Amritsar) to wear. This incited the Lahore badmashes to reindulge in stabbing and arson, said the District Magistrate of Lahore. (*Tr.* 17).

Mr. Suhrawardy's talks with Mr. Jinnah regarding Bengal failed. With a rebuff, Mr. Jinnah uncompromisingly disapproved of any arrangement in Bengal on the basis of joint electorates. Suhrawardy was asked to resign if he could not carry on the fight for Pakistan, as Mr. Jinnah wanted. (*CM.* 17, *Tr.* 17).

At the instance of the Viceroy, Maharaja Yadavindar Singh of Patiala had talks with Mr. Jinnah regarding Sikh-Muslim compromise, based on partition. Mr. Jinnah, as usual, remained uncompromising and adamant. He repeated his usual verbal assurances and guarantees, and wanted the Sikhs to accept his word, which, of course, could not be done after the inhuman brutalities committed by the Muslims in the minority areas of N. W. districts and Multan and D. I. K. (*Tr.* 18).

Mian Allahyar Khan Daultana, Chief Whip of the Muslim League Assembly Party, died at Rawalpindi. Body removed to Luddan (Multan). (*Tr.* 18).

17 *May,* 1947, *Saturday*

Stabbings and arson continued in Lahore.

18 *May,* 1947, *Sunday*

Stabbings and arson continued in Lahore and Amritsar.

Lord Mountbatten, accompanied by staff and Mr. V. P. Menon, left for England by Air. (*CM.* 19).

19 *May,* 1947, *Monday*

A plan for the rehabilitation of thousands of victims of Muslim cruelties, estimated to cost the Punjab Government 10 crores, is under consideration of the Governor, as reported in the press. (*CM.* 19).

21 *May,* 1947, *Wednesday*

Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogazai, Member of the Constituent Assembly from Beluchistan, Khan Abdul Samad Khan, President of the Anjuman-i-Watan, Maulavi Abdulla Jan, President of the Jamiat-ul-Ulma, sent telegrams, as reported, protesting against the inclusion of Beluchistan in Pakistan without previous reference to the people. (*CM.* 23).

22 *May,* 1947, *Thursday*

Reported from New Delhi, in connection with Sir Ecric Mieville's talk with Mr. Jinnah, that Mr. Jinnah agreed to the partition of the Punjab and Bengal with Lahore as capital of the Pakistan and Calcutta a free port. (*CM.* 23).

Mr. Kotu Ram, Frontier M.L.A., in a statement at Bannu, welcomed the proposal for an independent sovereign Pathan republic comprising of the Pushto-speaking people of N.W.F.P. (*Tr.* 25).

23 *May,* 1947, *Friday*

According to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Jinnah's demand for a corridor to link up N. E. and N. W. Pakistan areas was untenable. (*CM.* 25).

Diwan Chaman Lal offered a plan to the Muslim League for the unity of the Panjab, in an interview with the Globe, on the basis of joint electorates, equal representation for Muslims and non-Muslims in the Cabinet and services, premiership by rotation for three years, socialistic distribution of big estates among the peasantry, guarantee of fundamental rights to minorities, etc. (*CM.* 25).

Addressing a Press Conference at Calcutta, General Mohan Singh said that in case of Pakistan being established, the present Indian army must be divided to eliminate fifth-columnists from Hindustan army. (*Tr.* 25).

According to a report published this day, "Muslim Leaguers in the United Provinces have been collecting arms manufactured for them in certain Indian states, and have, for some time, been making hectic preparations. Besides, there has been a large-scale infiltration of Pathans, disguised as labourers or contractors, into the province. "This revelation was made by Mr. Purshotam Das Tandon, Speaker of the U.P. Assembly. (*Tr.* 25).

Malik Ferozez Khan Noon told the A.P.I. that a certain number of the divisions of the armed forces should be immediately handed over to Pakistan and Hindustan when sovereign powers were transferred to the Constituent Assemblies of the two areas. (*Tr.* 25).

Reported from Karachi that Mr. Jinnah has sabotaged the compromise that had been accepted by the Muslims and Hindus of Sind on the Sind University Act.

24 *May*, 1947, *Saturday*

According to Sir Akbar Hydari, the Governor of Assam, "Assam should remain as it is with its centuries old continued communal cordiality. (*Tr.* 26).

An A.S.I. of Police, Giani Gurcharan Singh, was stabbed while on duty in Hall Bazaar, Amristar, by Muslim goondas in the presence of Muslim Police constables. (*Tr.* 26).

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerji, addressing the Hindus of Dacca, denounced the agreement reported to have been reached between Mr. Sarat C. Bose and Mr. Abdul Hashim, the Muslim League leader, for a free state of Bengal. This was a sinister move, said Dr. Mukerji, to grab the whole of Bengal for the Eastern Pakistan which would thus virtually be established in the province, which the Hindus would never accept. (*Tr.* 26, *CM.* 27).

25 *May*, 1947, *Sunday*

Sardar Baldev Singh, in an interview at New Delhi, said that if India was to be partioned, the division of the Army was inevitable. "When the Army is divided, the Pakistan state will have to find funds to pay for all the Muslims in armed forces. This will be a big drain on Pakistan finances and its pinch will be felt by the Muslim masses who, at this stage, do not understand the implications of the division of India."

Referring to unnatural solicitude of Mr. Jinnah for the Sikhs, S. Baldev Singh continued, "The Punjab was and is the homeland of the Sikhs. A Sikh prince ruled over the territory whom British took under their tutelage as a minor. The Punjab should, therefore, be restored to the Sikhs." (*CM*. 27).

26 *May*, 1947, *Monday*

Pandit Gopinath Kunzru, Vice-President of the U. P. Hindu Mahasabha, warned the provincial government to reduce the number of the Muslims in the Police to their due percentage on the basis of population within three months, otherwise the Hindu Mahasabha will have to resort to some direct action, including Satyagraha. (*CM*. 27).

Sardar Baldev Singh visited Lahore and said that adequate military was being sent to the Punjab to stop the riots. A deputation of seven women of Sareen Muhalla, arrested under the Arms Act, complained to him of the foul language used by a certain Muslim official in dealing with them, and, bitterly weeping, made shocking allegations against a Magistrate.

He was also told by Principal Niranjan Singh of the Sikh National College of Lahore, how the students of the College, during the search of the College, were made to stand in the sun the whole day without being allowed even to take their meals.

In the course of a statement, Sardar Baldev Singh said that the division of the Punjab was inevitable, that Mr. Jinnah's demand for a corridor could not be accepted, nor could Lahore be allowed to go to Pakistan. (*Ajit*, 28, *CM*. 28).

An informal conference of Forward Block members held in Calcutta adopted a resolution supporting the move for the partition of Bengal and the Punjab. (*Tr*. 28).

27 *May,* 1947, *Tuesday*

Jathedar Udham Singh, in a statement, said that the Sikhs had lost faith in the sincerity of Mr. Jinnah and his followers after what they had done in the so-called Pakistan in the western districts of the Panjab. Nothing could satisfy the Sikhs but the division of the province, declared the Jathedar. (*Ranjit,* 28).

28 *May,* 1947, *Wednesday*

Allama Mashriqi issued a statement at Patna asking the people to revolt against Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah and to start a revolution against the British.

Additional troops, including a portion of the 4th Indian Division from southern India, began pouring into the Punjab to cope with the situation arising out the Viceroy's conference with Indian leaders on June 2 and thereafter. (*CM.* 29).

Reported from Nainital that thousands of Muslim criminal nomad tribesmen had been infiltering from the Punjab into the Sharanpur district of the U.P. and settling there under the patronage of Muslim League Zemindars. (*Tr.* 29).

According to Giani Kartar Singh, as reported to have given out at a meeting of the S.A.D. at Amritsar, the division of the Punjab with only twelve districts for the non-Muslims, comprising Ambala and Jullundur divisions and Amritsar district, would not satisfy the Sikhs and that they "would have to fight before the Boundary Commission". (*Tr.* 30).

29 *May,* 1947, *Thursday*

Reports published that 20 villages in the Gurgaon district have been burnt down by rioters. (*Tr.* 31).

Mr. Jinnah's demand for corridor is fantastic nonsense and can never be conceded by the rest of the country, said Master Tara Singh. (*Tr.* 31).

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Lahore to see for himself the riot-affected areas and had discussions with the political leaders of the Punjab, including Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh, and had talks with the Governor.

15 *August,* 1947

India was declared to be independent.

(*To be continued*)

Reviews

FORT WILLIAM—India House Correspondence (Public Series) Vol. XIII: 1796-1800. General Editor: K. D. Bhargava. Edited by P. C. Gupta, M.A. (Cal.) Ph.D. (London), Reader in History, University of Calcutta. Published for the National Archives of India, by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, Civil Lines, Delhi: 1959. Pages xlii and 594. Price Rs. 24·00 or 37 sh.

This volume covers about five years from 1796 to 1800, comprising the last two years of Sir John Shore's Administration and the first three years of Lord Wellesley's Governor-generalship. It contains the relevant records of the Public Department, including those of the so-called Separate Department (Salt, Opium and Customs) and Law Department—all of which were in fact branches of the Public Department in the period concerned.

The volume, however, does not include any letters dealing with the stirring political events of the time such as the Nizam's Subsidiary Alliance with the British Indian Government, the Fourth Mysore War ending in Tipu's death and the fall of Seringapatam, the accession of Baji Rao II in 1796 and the death of Nana Phadnis leading to the decline of the Maratha power. The letters now published are mainly concerned with the trade and commerce of the East India Company, the management of the Company's business in distant centres like Basra and Fort Marlborough, the means of collecting information about the history, topography and literature of the country for the use of the official historiography of the Company in London (John Bruce and Robert Orme), and some details about the Company's administration. There are also occasional references to measures for the spiritual welfare of the Company's servants and others in India, showing that the Company was not indifferent to its task of the moral uplift of Englishmen abroad, including its own servants.

The Editor, Dr. P. C. Gupta, contributes a valuable introduction of about twenty-five pages critically reviewing the salient points emerging from the letters and elucidating their historical setting. The sections of the Introduction dealing with the Botanical Garden near Calcutta and life in Calcutta will be read with particular interest as also the concluding section on Material for history.

The volume keeps up in every way the high standard of scholarship and excellence in format that is characteristic of the series.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

ASPECTS OF POLITICAL IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA, by Ram Sharan Sharma, M.A. (Patna), Ph.D. (London), Head of the Department of History, Patna University: Motilal Banarsidas, Patna, 1959. Pages xiv and 254; Price Rs. 12/-.

Dr. R. S. Sharma is well known to students of Ancient Indian History and Culture by his scholarly sociological study on Śūdras in Ancient India. He is an experienced teacher and has been lecturing since 1951 on Political Thought and Administration to post-graduate classes. The book under review is a collection of papers he wrote on important aspects of our polity that stood in need of elucidation and of some others written on allied topics for inclusion in the volume. 'About one half of this book', he says, 'has already been published in the form of articles. But for the purpose of the present work those essays have been retouched, edited and brought into some sort of relation with the additional material, both in form and substance. The chapters dealing exclusively with political ideas have been put at the beginning, and the others have been arranged in chronological order'. The result is a very readable volume which competently surveys many interesting aspects of the political thought and practice of ancient India on fresh and sometimes strikingly original times. The author has a thorough grasp of the relevant sources and uses them with telling effect. He states his conclusions in a moderate and persuasive manner and generally carries conviction to the reader's mind.

The opening essay briefly traces the main stages in the study of the subject upto 1930; it is followed by a discussion of the Saptānga (seven members) theory of the State and seeks to link it up with the modern organic theory. It is not clear, however, what the author means by comparing the 'recognition' of a modern state with the concept of '*mitra*' in the ancient Indian *maṇḍala*. Again if he had realized that *daṇḍa* sometimes means merely 'sovereign authority', at others 'an army', and again 'punishment', some of his remarks on p. 29 would have taken a different colour. The third study is a new approach to the role of Property, Family and Caste in the origin of the ancient Indian State; but one may doubt the Validity of the author's inference of a state of promiscuity in sexual relations from the statement in the Purāṇas that in the Kṛitayuga children were born of *Samkalpa*, 'Wishful thinking', without the sex-act; the author interprets *Samkalpa* as desire to cohabit, which does not seem correct. After a chapter (IV) on the Contract Theory, we get in chapter V a shrewd discussion on *Vidatha* which goes far to establish that 'it was a popular assembly in the beginning, but in course of time came to be confined to a few people' (p. 77) and that 'the early *Vidatha* was probably the typical institution of the period when the tribe had not broken into classes such as brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas' (76). The next chapter (VI) discusses the relation of the post-Vedic Republics to the Vedic *gaṇas*, and the suggestion is made (p. 91) that 'as the office of the *gaṇapati* became transformed into that of the *rājan*, the tribal republic passed into the monarchical state, a fact supported by anthropological evidence'. After a brief discussion of the Early Pariṣad (Ch. VII), the late Vedic ceremony of the Ratnahavīmṣi comes in for an elaborate and fruitful examination (Ch. VIII); the *ratnins*, most lists give twelve of them, are described as the limbs or accessories (*angāni*) of *Kṣatra* (ruling power) and Prof. Sharma draws attention to practice of having a council of twelve prevalent among several Indo-European peoples (115).

Then follow the quasi-historical chapters on Some Tribal and Primitive Aspects of Vedic Polity (IX), Land-Revenue System of the Pre-Mauryan Period (X), Religion and Politics in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (XI), Kuṣāṇa Polity (XII), Varṇa in relation to law and Politics (XIII), the origins of Feudalism in India (XIV) traced to the *Sāmantas* of the period A.D. 400-650; the last

Chapter XV is a brief statement of the conclusions reached in the different essays and an assessment of Ancient India's contribution to political theory. We congratulate the author on his work and hope that he will make many further contributions to the study of Ancient Indian Culture.

There is a two page list of errata, by no means exhaustive. The abbreviations are not all of them explained.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

Select Contents of Periodicals

I. *Bihar Research Society—The Journal of the,* Vol. XLIII, Parts III and IV, Bihar.

1. *The Home of the Aryans* by Ramcharita Singh.
2. *Kusana Polity* by Dr. R. S. Sharma.
3. *New Light on the History of Konarka* by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi.
4. *Suppression of the Pindaris* by Shri Jata Shankar Jha and *Orissa* by Dr. Bhabani Charan Ray.
5. *British Attempt to settle Boundary Line between Bengal and Orissa* by Dr. Bhabani Charan Ray.
6. *Life and Career of Wazir Ali Khan, The Rebel Nawab of Oudh* by Anshuman Mukherjee.
7. *Early British Penetration into Chotanagpur* by Jagadish Chandra Jha.
8. *Some Recent Discoveries in North Bihar* by Radhakrishna Chowdhary.
9. *A Note on King Harisimha of Mithila* by Dr. Upendra Thakur.
10. *Anglo-Nepalese Commercial Treaty* of 1792 by Dr. V. A. Narain.
11. *Some Farmans, Sanads, Nishans and Inscriptions in Bihar* by Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashthya.

II. *Indian Review,* Vol. 61, No. 2, Madras.

1. *The Sikh History* by Balwant Singh.

III. *Oriental Research—Journal of, Vol.* XXVII, Parts 1-4, Madras.

1. *A Bibliography of Soviet Indology* 1918-1958.
2. *Maratha Invasions of Orissa* by Dr. Bhabani Charan Ray.
3. *Three Inscriptions from Valgudar* by Dr. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi.

IV. *University of Bombay—Journal of the,* Vol. XXVIII, Part 1, Bombay.

1. *The Bracelet Controversy* by A. R. G. Tiwari.
2. *Non-Aryans on the Western Coast* by K. D. Desai.

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Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path,* Bombay.
3. *Asia Major.*
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala,* Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin,* Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India,* Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery.*
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library,* Madras.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* London.
10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London.
11. *The Ceylon Historical Journal.*
12. *Epigraphia Indica,* Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University,* Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review,* Patna.
15. *Indian Archives,* Delhi.
16. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Calcutta.
17. *Indian Review,* Madras.
18. *India Quarterly,* New Delhi.
19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,* Waltair.
20. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* Patna.
21. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Bombay.
22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,* Allahabad.
23. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India,* Bombay.
24. *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Baroda.
25. *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras.
26. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute,* Tirupati.
27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society,* Lucknow.
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay,* Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly,* New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society,* Bangalore.
31. *The Scottish Historical Review.*
32. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal,* Birmingham.
33. *University of Ceylon Review.*
34. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.*

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